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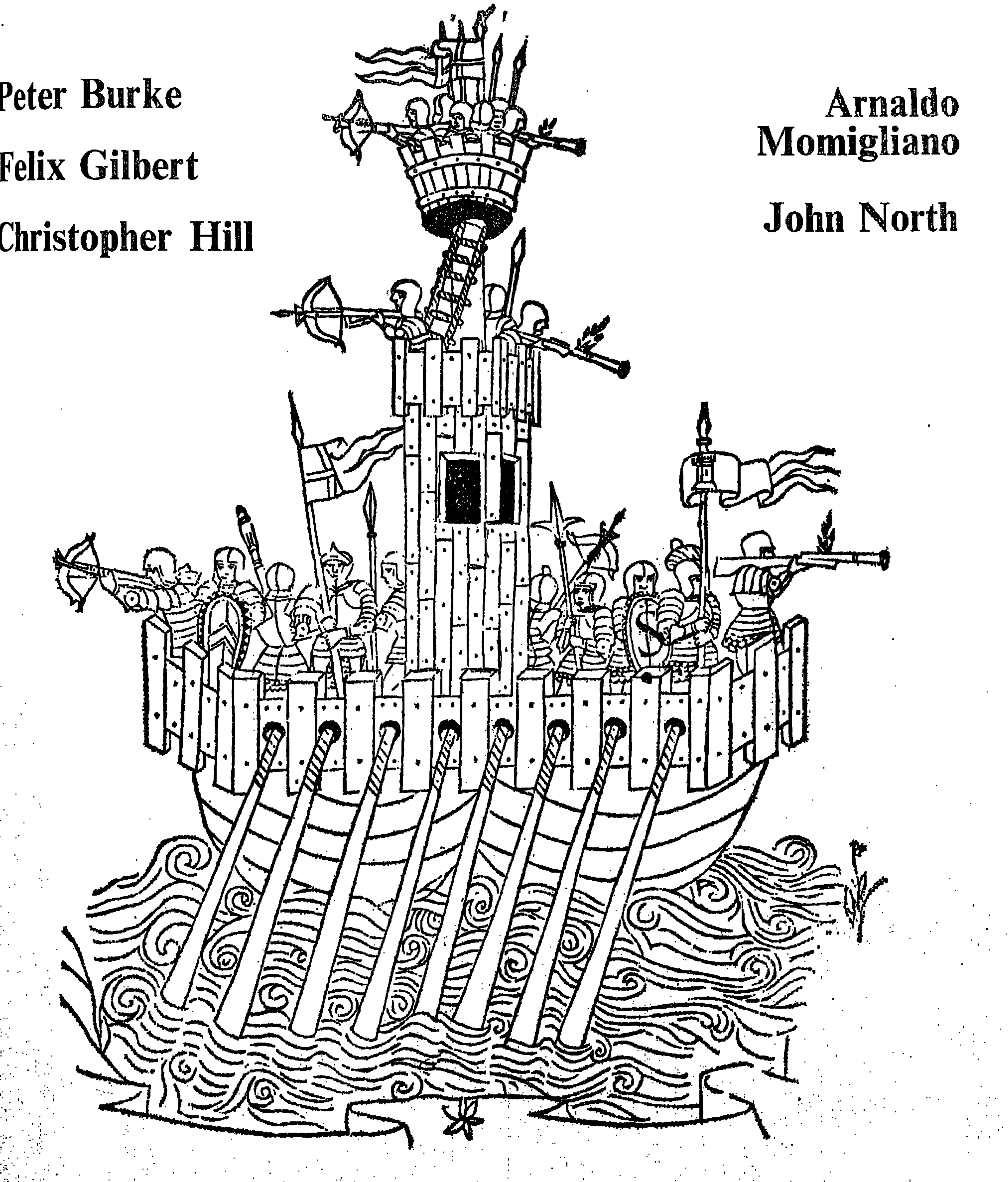

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The culture historian's task

BY FELIX GILBERT

O EXPRESS VIEWS on the task of the historian of culture is hazardous; the notion of a his- y of culture seems vague and ficult to define. In this situation is comforting to remember the which the concept of the Renais- ce has had. Although the recog- d masterpiece in the field of ural history, Burckhardt's *Kultur Renaissance in Italien,* treated s notion, existence of the Renais- ce has been doubted and debated; the United States the question s still discussed two decades ago en, at a symposium at the Metro- itan Museum, Erwin Panofsky ressed his view by showing in aposition Our Lady's Church at es and Palladio's Villa Rotunda exclaiming, "Something deci- e must have happened." For e who are courageous enough embark on a discussion on the ory and historiography of culture is well to know that there is no son to doubt that something s even, if we do not know ctly what it is.

The great danger which threatens se who reflect on cultural history o get lost in the maze of seman- s. Intentionally I use the word ze" because the maze must be ered; the semantic issue cannot entirely avoided. The origin and meaning of the terms "culture" d "civilization" have their bear- on the development and contents history of culture. The issue me involved because most Euro- n languages know the two words give them a slightly different ning and value. The result of most comprehensive and most iled treatment of the semantic sion—by A. L. Kroeber and de Kluckhohn—is that in our "culture" and "civilization" e become almost synonymous. eed, if, for instance, we look at chapter on "The Sources of dish Civilization" in Bernard is's *The Emergence of Modern key,* we find that the words are d interchangeably.

Nevertheless, I suspect that there inclination to employ them for ing purposes. "Civilization" seems chiefly used when we look upon the process of history as a whole or when we describe the characteristic or distinguishing features of the various great units which compose the process of history, which either follow each other in time or co-exist in space (the civilization of ancient Egypt or the civilization of China). "Culture" is preferred when our aim is analysis of the interrelationships and interdependencies that contribute to the formation of cultural life and determine its character.

True, this is a heuristic and probably disputable mode of distinction. If it has any validity it does not extend beyond the work of the historian, because to anthropologists and archaeologists culture has a clearly defined meaning. But in the framework of this discussion of the tasks of a historian of culture this rough distinction of the present uses of the notions of civilization and culture might help to clarify what I am doing. I am not concerned with what the term civilization suggests: with explaining the course of history as a whole or with the construction of historical systems. I am simply asking what the historian has done and can do to analyse the relationships and interdependencies existing among the factors and forces that constitute cultural life within a given society, what the main trends and the main achievements in this field of investigation are.

But this indication of aims leaves the most basic question unsettled. What are the phenomena which we consider to constitute the cultural life of a period? Uncertainty about this point is one of the most troublesome aspects in any discussion of cultural history. If the confusion cannot be removed, perhaps it can be reduced by our confronting once again the semantic issue and considering the first serious undertakings in the field of cultural history. Culture, like civilization, means improvement, and when this word came into use in the eighteenth century no difference was made between material and immaterial, tangible and intangible improvement. But when Voltaire and his followers among the *philosophes* and writers of the eighteenth century developed the idea of a history of culture, they intended a study of the development of the moral, intellectual and aesthetic activities of man. The new form of history which they envisaged was closely connected with their own interests. It contained a self-justifying, propagandistic element. Art, literature, learning and philosophy were the areas in which the intellectual leaders of the Enlightenment had distinguished themselves. By advocating a new kind of history grouped round the developments in literature, art and learning, they implied that the significant legacy of history was not to be found in the battles and diplomatic manoeuvres in which only the members of the ruling classes—kings, statesmen and generals—excelled; rather the outstanding events of history were the progress found in those fields to which everyone with talent could contribute: the development of art, learning and literature.

The history of culture so conceived focused on what is called "high culture", and "high culture" was the primary concern of the historians of culture of the nineteenth century. The high optimism of the Enlightenment was then evaporating and, as Raymond Williams in *Culture and Society* has shown for England, defence of the traditional values against the crude appetites of the low classes of industrial society was the underlying aim of the concern with cultural history. A hierarchy of values in which the maintenance of "high culture" held the highest place was built into the historiography of culture. This belief inspired the works of the great masters of this historical genre: Burckhardt and Huizinga.

In Burckhardt's and even in Huizinga's times history was the history of Europe and their works focused on the "high culture" in various regions and at various stages of European history. The material on which they built was literature, art and the works of learning and thought. The history of culture, as they conceived it, was to demonstrate the coherence and internal unity of an epoch and to give to each stage of European history its individual face. Their works established a definite pattern of what the history of culture is and what it is not. Histories of single branches of learning, of academic institutions, of art, of literature, useful as they might be for the historian of culture, in themselves do not represent histories of culture. Nor does the addition of chapters on literature and art to a political history, a panoramic survey of the entire life of an epoch or even the writing of a history of morals (*Sittengeschichte*)—a genre of great appeal as long as people were convinced of the existence of one general moral standard—make the authors of such works historians of culture. Such undertakings lack the distinguishing feature of a history of culture: investigation of the common element which underlies the variety of the phenomena of "high culture" and gives an epoch its particular and individual character.

This postulate involves a problem. What is the method of the historian of culture? How can one establish a connexion among the various fields of "high culture"? In Burckhardt's view, the civilization of the Renaissance in Italy reflected the emergence and domination of a few crucial ideas like individualism and realism; this assumption that with each new historical period a new idea also emerges, finding embodiment in the life and institutions of a period, has a Hegelian flavour we no longer find acceptable although we might acknowledge the importance of key concepts and key notions. To us the use of symbols and images or even the appearance of a peculiar style seems to indicate the existence of common attitudes rather than rational concepts.

In *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* Huizinga tried to give concreteness to the particular character of the culture of late-medieval Burgundy by analysing the attitude of writers and artists to basic facts of life like love and death. Differences in the reaction to common human experiences have been taken to reveal the distinctiveness of a period of the past. Modifications in the evaluation of human qualities, of virtues and vices, variations in the manner of treating and organizing the natural phases of life can be reflected in the art and literature of different periods. Huizinga, in an essay on the task of cultural history, gave pointed expression to the usefulness of such a comparative method: "If one knew how to write the history of vanity, one would have mastered half of the entire history of culture."

This comparative method was also the point of departure for Aby Warburg's thinking about the stages of cultural development and for the work which he inspired, although he continued then in a manner more subtle and more complex. Human emotions, Warburg assumed, were expressed only in a limited number of typical forms. Modification of these basic types might indicate the relation between emotion and reason in the mental structure of an age. In Warburg's view such "measurement" was possible because the form which the basic types had taken in classical art had been controlled by disciplined reason so that the closeness or distance from the classical types provided a criterion for evaluating the role of reason in cultural life of the various periods of history.

Yet, despite all the work done in investigations along these lines, the thesis of a unified basic outlook permeating all the achievements of "high culture" will always remain a working hypothesis rather than a proven fact. Indeed, we have not come very far towards entering the inner core of a cultural period. Moreover, certain cultural activities like music still remain essentially isolated despite great progress in music history.

We have seen that the methods most suited to offer a sharp profile of a culture are comparisons and confrontations. For this reason the most successful studies in the area of cultural history are those concerned with ages in which different cultures, or at least different value systems, clash. The clarity of the outline which Huizinga and Burckhardt were able to give to the culture of the late Middle Ages and of the Renaissance has to do with the then developing contrast between religious and secular values; the importance of a cultural conflict for making issues of an age visible and definable might explain why the ages most suited for treatment in the form of cultural history are the periods of Hellenism and the period of Late Antiquity. The crucial events in these periods were cultural developments: the penetration of Greek culture into the East or the origin of a new medieval world from the amalgamation of the classical culture with the world of the barbarian newcomers.

In such situations developments in the political and economic field were of little significance in comparison to the developments in the sphere of cultural life. But this means—and recent works like Carl Schneider's *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* and Peter Brown's *Age of Late Antiquity* show this clearly—that the focal point is no longer analysis of a "high culture" but that the cultural historian assumes a new and much wider function. When Mr Brown demonstrates that the faces of portrait busts become more spiritualized or that simply and clearly written manuscripts become filled with bizarre and allegorical ornaments which make them sacred objects, he is no longer concerned with aspects in the development of "high culture" but with the elucidation of changes which transform the general outlook of the people. Culture is again conceived as what it was meant to be when the word first came into use in the eighteenth century: as embracing all the material and immaterial creations of man.

It is obvious why historical scholars became receptive to the resumption of a broadened concept of culture: the reason was the rise of social history and, in a more particular way, the Marxist emphasis on class structure. But these tendencies may have received particular impetus from doubts about presuppositions of cultural history as it had been developed in the nineteenth century. An almost tacit assumption of historians of "high culture" was the insistence of a close connexion between the political ruling group, the men in power, and the intellectual and artistic leaders of a time. The situation which came into existence in modern industrial society made evident that this assumption could not be taken for granted. Although it should not be denied that nineteenth-century writers and artists may have starved in garrets, through the mass publication of newspapers, weeklies and periodicals, of cartoons and illustrated books, they also could gain an income which gave them an independent standing. They were not only the supporters; they were also the main critics of the ruling group. What role the creators of art and literature, the scholars and thinkers play, what position they hold in the social order, emerged as a problem in need of investigation. Even in studies of "high culture"—whether they have a clearly defined and limited content like Wackernagel's pioneering work on *Lebensraum des Künstlers* and Francis Haskell's *Patrons and Painters*, or whether they are works on the "culture and society" of an entire period—the social and economic dimension has become part of research.

Nevertheless, the increased attention given to the external conditions of "high culture" is not the most important aspect of the impact which the growth of interest in social history has exerted on the development of cultural history. The historian of culture has been forced to realize that the developments of "high culture" concern only a small part of the population; other groups of society also have their "culture" which deserves to be investigated. To put this in easily understandable but also somewhat simplified terms: "popular culture" is quite as much the task of the historian of culture as "high culture".

That can mean an endless variety of topics and problems, from the means of defence against demons to the survival of witchcraft, from Carlo Ginzburg's *Benandanti* to Frances Yates's *The Art of Memory*. With an interest no longer exclusively focused on the leadership groups we discover many worlds which we have lost and which we might reconstruct. However, recognition of the various cultural levels which exist simultaneously within the same society and the same time remains the fundamental task. In the industrial society of the nineteenth century with its sharply delineated class structure, differences of behaviour, language and interests are easily noticeable and provide a starting-point for analysis. Nevertheless, it was still a shock when in 1957 Richard Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy* appeared, with its precise demonstration of the wide gap in languages and entertainments between the culture of the working man and the culture of the rest of the population.

The issue becomes more complicated if we go back to earlier developments when the consciousness of a class structure was less pronounced and when, as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the tendency of the rising bourgeoisie was to adjust itself to the behaviour pattern of the ruling group. The emergence of a particular bourgeois culture therefore is an involved process; investigation of this problem has a kind of model in Bernard Groethuysen's *Die Entstehung der bürgerlichen Welt- und Lebensanschauung in Frankreich* with its subtle evaluation of the role of the religious factor in emancipating the bourgeoisie from the ruling group.

For an understanding of the general outlook of this period it remains important, however, to realize that the eighteenth-century writings which we consider as the classical representatives of Enlightenment thought form only a small part of the literature which was published at that time and that a much more primitive and much more scurrilous literature had a wider appeal. The school of the *Annales* has justifiably emphasized that it is necessary to study those factors which reveal general attitudes and customs rather than prominent and exceptional cases. Finally, in this kind of cultural history the issues of literacy and illiteracy, the history of education—examining both what was taught and who was taught—become crucial objects of investigation because they might indicate the reach and the limits of the impact of "high culture".

Answers to most of these questions require research in public and private records and the application of statistical methods, briefly, the use of methods employed in any research in social history. If this is so, is there any justification for separating the history of culture from social history? Like all questions that arise from attempts to delineate rigidly the various compartments of history, this seems an issue of little practical significance and a question that is almost impossible to answer satisfactorily. But since previously in this essay I have characterized questions to be irrelevant and insoluble and then have tried to answer them, I s hesitate to do so again. it might be said that the of the historian of culture give direction to the inve of social history; because lection of data on social hi the danger of degeneration new antiquarianism this mig healthy influence. But the of culture probably can e greater claims. Culture c existence only through social action; it comes to life establishing a connexion be man and man. It is transmitted generation to generation. C therefore, is one of the most ful guarantors of historical tinuity, and without it none and new discoveries would coalesce in an historical proc

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The century of pietism

GEORGES GUSDORF :

Dieu, la nature, l'homme au siècle des lumières

535pp. Paris : Payot. 62fr.

The latest volume in Georges Gusdorf's saga on "Les Sciences humaines et la pensée occidentale" takes him into the domains of religion and the biological sciences. The two fields, "Dieu" and "la nature", assort rather strangely, and the book tends to fall into two distinct halves, which is not its author's intention.

The dominant theme is announced in the opening chapter. Contrary to received notions, the eighteenth century is a Christian age. The essential change in the times is not from faith to atheism but from an external religion of institution and ritual to an intimate communion where God speaks to the private conscience, a creed which M Gusdorf labels as pietism, though it appears under various labels like Methodism and quietism. This "neo-Christianity" is shared by most enlightened minds, returning to the wellsprings of the faith after all the centuries of totalitarian rule by the Catholic Church: in Dostoevskyan terms, Christ has triumphed over the Grand Inquisitor.

Thereafter M Gusdorf proceeds to show the development of natural history during the same period. Man becomes attuned to the world about him, Rousseau's biological explorations forming a neat symbolic contrast with Descartes's inward searches for a philosophic method, shut up all alone in a room with a stove. The latter's introspection is indicative of the old order, fading before the new approach of Linnaeus and Buffon, both of them attentive to the concept of man as related not only to his fellow-humans but also the animal kingdom. Anthropology, an interdisciplinary field rather than a unitary science, is engendered from this nascent *culture du regard*. Medicine begins to make progress, albeit slowly, the notion of public assistance and the Welfare State is born, and, as the century closes, psychiatry takes its rise, the lunatic coming to be seen, not as sacred or damned but simply a case for treatment.

So then the primacy of body over soul is established in the Enlightenment. But the soul continues to exist as an anthropological phenomenon, and the period, far from being desiccated and cerebral, develops a sensibility of its own, a new style based on passion for life in all its multifarious splendour. The poor and the sick are discovered as worthy of public care and compassion; women and children take on a new autonomy, and the countryside is no longer a mere *décor*. M Gusdorf ends his book with a reference to the great developments in music, testifying in their way, as his final words put it, to "la délivrance de l'âme".

Such is the great canvas, painted with the author's usual skill and density of texture. The section on life-sciences will surely command general admiration for the unerring lucidity and wide erudition which inform it. About the earlier part one is less certain. M Gusdorf is right to remind us that the categories of thought were still inevitably Christian, and equally so to claim that the age is b religious, if one counts heads the thesis of widespread pie less easy to accept, partic when he has to argue that Ca pietism, being clandestine, was limited, and it is noticeable references to eighteenth-c France are thin in this respe as is generally assumed, the of the Enlightenment lies in Fr this would seem seriously to w his thesis.

The relationship of pietis deists presents another pr Sometimes they are contrasted occasionally M Gusdorf trie assimilate them; and here overdoes the argument, turning example a perfectly rhe expression of nostalgia by Vo for Pennsylvania into a s intent by the *philosophe* to fi place within Christendom. Gusdorf has taken his thesis to While the Enlightenment is pre-dominantly atheist, it is determ on secularization, and the le figures are for the most part cerned with that rather than orating a new religion. This att to discover a dominant spiritu does not lack a basis, especial England and Germany; it does, ever, threaten to misplace the phasis. Sensibility was not pri a neo-Christian phenomenon Enlightenment but largely de materialist in its origins and in its manifestations. For al hesitancies, anthropology trac rise to reason rather than relig

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A second Waterloo for Napoleon

LES FAIR :

the Jaws of Victory

Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

ABETH YOUNG :

arewell to Arms Control ?

Penguin. Paperback, 50p.

ER YOUNG (Editor) :

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—how to wage it, how to stop it, to win it, even how to lose it— irresistible target for the instant . It is one of those pursuits, politics, sex and mixing dry inis, about which everybody is authority; any amateur knows to do it better than the profes- ls. It appears to be widely ed that in writing about war recipe for certain success is to ed from the assumption that generals (with admirals and air- als *pari passu*) are blood- y half-wits and that the politi- who direct them are devious, al and self-seeking. The new school of military historians has made a lucrative occupation out of this fashionable disenchantment; and the epic discovery by the younger generation that war is a Bad Thing has created a ready market for condescension and character assassination.

In the latest essay in the genre the somewhat inappropriately named Charles Fair has set out to analyse, by way of a series of case-histories, the character, causes and consequences of military stupidity. Doubts about the value of his researches are raised at once by the discovery that among his parade of the great blunderers of history Mr Fair includes Napoleon, in what his publishers describe ingenuously as "a lively chapter intended to demolish the Emperor's traditional reputation as a great military leader". It is, in fact, an offensive piece of posthumous vilification, substituting for serious military analysis the gossip-columnist's bilious approach to history.

After suggesting that Napoleon was permanently deranged by a blow on the head caused by a "fall from a horse when performing evolutions for some English ladies", and describing him as "a coarse fanny-pinching arriviste who read other people's mail [and] cheated at cards", the author arrives at the bizarre conclusion that Charles XII was "not as bad a general" as Bonaparte; and in a final sneer Napoleon is referred to after Waterloo as "a middle-aged adventurer, unscathed except for his cystitis and piles and apparently no more inclined than he had ever been, even in Russia, to weep over those who had so lately fallen in his service". A footnote graciously concedes that on this point authorities disagree. They do indeed, Mr Fair, they do indeed; and fortunately the reputations of the great figures of history have a habit of surviving the bile of lesser men.

The rest of *From the Jaws of Victory* is not quite as distasteful as the chapter on Napoleon, but nowhere is it distinguished. There is the statutory assault on Haig, whose military reputation is now so tattered that it seems scarcely worthwhile for any serious historian to worry about it any further; a chapter on Vietnam which seems to be little more than a standard philippic against the horrors of war (incidentally it contains the illuminating comment that "everyone of consequence" now has The Bomb—a bleak insight into Mr Fair's system of values); and the truly remarkable statement that Liddell Hart had, by the beginning of the Second World War, come to the conclusion that modern fire-power had made the concept of attack prohibitive. If Mr Fair has never heard of the doctrine of the indirect approach, or the analogy of the expanding torrent, and if he is unaware that the technique of the blitzkrieg was based largely on Liddell Hart's theories of armoured warfare, he really ought to leave military history to those with a less idiosyncratic approach.

If there is one area of military strategy and politics which attracts more cranks and amateurs than any other, it is the field of disarmament and arms control. Anyone armed with the verbatim reports of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the SIPRI *Year Book* and a profound conviction that all international negotiators are idiots, feels equipped to succeed where everyone else has failed. Elizabeth Young's discovery that there has been no disarmament in the world, and that arms control measures have had little effect on the arms-race, is scarcely world-shaking: and her style, with all the sparkle and liveliness of an Aldermaston march on a wet Sunday, does little to relieve the tedium of a fairly routine scissors-and-paste account, encrusted with irrelevances, non-sequiturs, tired Fabian clichés and warmed-up Pugwashery. The only reason for noticing *A Farewell to Arms Control?* at all is that it might mislead people who take seriously the publishers' claim that it combines technical knowledge and political insight.

After such disobliging reflections it is pleasant to be able to find something agreeable to write about. *The War Game* is an unpretentious little *jeu d'esprit* in which a number of writers have contributed brief accounts of some of the great battles of history—from Thermopylae to El Alamein—illustrated by colour photographs of model battlefields and toy soldiers. Although it claims to be aimed principally at "war-gamers" it would be much more suitable as a colourful and informative present for any schoolboy with a taste for military history. Of Napoleon, James Lawford, a Sandhurst lecturer and a specialist in Wellington's campaigns, writes that since Austerlitz, his battles had become "bloodier and more stubbornly contested. This was not through any lessening of his genius, but rather because under his tutelage his opponents were becoming more skilful and their armies more effective". Perhaps someone this Christmas will send copies of this modest little volume to Mr Fair—and, why not, to Mrs Young. It is an object lesson in not taking oneself too seriously.

Repent, ye poor desolate soldiers

ER BROCK :

ism in Europe to 1914

pp. Princeton University Press.

don: Oxford University Press.

655, the Quaker Edward Bur- h issued a pamphlet to the lower s of Cromwell's army in Ireland. pamphlet's title, *An invitation the poor desolate soldiers to re- and make their peace with the* d, catches exactly that character- pacifist note, poised uneasily be- en the sublime and the ridicu- : sublime, because pacifism s to achieve a perfection in an relations; ridiculous, be- e in so doing it must sometimes e attitudes and make gestures are far removed from the reali- of everyday life. Historians have n little interest in the pheno- on of pacifism, believing perhaps it has little relevance to the current of events. The result been that no authoritative gen- l history of pacifism has eared. This gap has now been d by Peter Brock, a Professor History at Toronto. The latest volume, *Pacifism in Europe to 1914*, completes his comprehensive study of pacifist thought and practice.

It is right that Professor Brock should devote a whole volume to the development of European pacifism, because it is in Christian Europe that pacifism has its origins. Though the concept of non-violence may occur in the writings of an ancient civilization (such as in China), pacifism and conscientious objection to military service have no place in the social or religious history of Asia and Africa. Even in Christian Europe, the basis for pacifism was by no means clear. The teaching of Jesus on this point had been ambiguous: the spirit of his teaching seemed to preclude the use of violence but the letter was far from explicit. Nevertheless early Christians embraced the pacifist ethic and were prepared to suffer martyrdom rather than wield "bloodstained weapons". How far this pacifism was a rejection of killing as such and how far a reluctance to recognize any service to a pagan Empire remain uncertain. What is certain is that the majority of Christians turned their backs on pacifism when their religion was established as the official religion of Constantine's Empire. The barbarian invasions of the fifth century confirmed this rejection of early Christian anti-militarism; in the face of the hordes, theories of non-resistance were unlikely to thrive. As Professor Brock puts it, "The Soldier of Christ replaced the Christian martyr as the symbol of the faith." Pacifism, which had once been central to the Christian tradition, had become eccentric.

Pacifism never regained its position in the mainstream of Christian doctrine and history. In the Middle Ages, it was kept alive by minority sects like the Waldenses and the Czech Brethren, whose perfectionist teaching led them to reject war together with all other worldly failures to live up to the ideals on the Sermon on the Mount. A similar perfectionist ethic inspired the pacifism of the Reformation sects, notably the Anabaptist Mennonites, whose conscientious objection to military service was accepted by William of Orange. In Britain, sectarian pacifism seems to have been a later development. (The Lollards' claim to be the first British pacifists is not a strong one.) Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign there were English pacifists in the form of Anabaptists or the members of small way-out sects such as the Family of Love, whose pantheistic pursuit of the Holy Spirit of Love has an ironically contemporary flavour. But it was not until the rise of Quakerism in the seventeenth century that the ideals of peace and non-resistance were firmly established as part of the English non-conformist position.

It is with the Quakers, too, that pacifism finally emerges from the sectarian exclusiveness in which it had remained since the fourth century. The Quakers were different but they were not separate; indeed, it might be said without unkindness that the Quakers were the first people to make pacifism respectable. However, respectability did not mean acquiescence in the call to arms. The Quakers set against the prevailing acceptance of war a belief that peace and non-resistance were the better way. Unlike the perfectionist and eschatological sects, they spoke out against policies that led to war and joined with non-Quakers (and with non-pacifists) in organizations to promote peace. They thus brought pacifism into the political arena. The Quaker John Bright personifies a pacifism in which the religious and political strands are difficult to disentangle; and the London Peace Society, founded in 1816, marks the alliance of pacifism with a wider peace movement. When, exactly 100 years later, conscription was introduced, the claims to conscientious objection reflected the variety of pacifist and quasi-pacifist convictions that had grown up in Britain over the past 400 years.

The full title of the London Peace Society was "The Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace". Once again, one hears the characteristic note. It is one of Professor Brock's great strengths that, although he was a conscientious objector himself, he is able to write about the whole range of pacifist beliefs with absolute objectivity. This is a scholarly history, not an attempt to justify the pacifist position. The detail is marshalled and presented with admirable clarity. Pacifism is not an easy subject to make interesting but Professor Brock's long, fluent narrative holds the reader without conscious effort. This is an authoritative work and one that will be welcomed by historians and social scientists alike.

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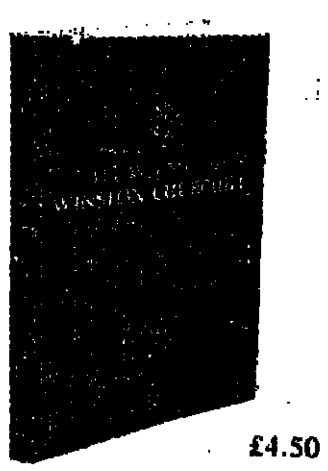

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Critical tesserae

NIKOLAUS PEVSNER:

Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century

338pp plus 78 plates. Oxford University Press. £8.50.

This is a treasure-house of a book. Everyone trying to work through the overgrowth of nineteenth-century architecture needs also to hack through the undergrowth of what architects and critics thought about it. That has not been easy to do, so many of the sources are obscure. Only someone with enormous patience and knowledge could have assembled "a mosaic . . . put together *tessera after tessera*", as the preface modestly says, on the scale of this book. It originated in fourteen Slade Lectures given at Oxford during 1968-69 and was greatly added to since. International in its range, taking in Goethe and Viollet-le-Duc, Schlegel and Caumont, it nevertheless concentrates on English architectural writers from Horace Walpole to William Morris, including of course Ruskin, and not only men like Fergusson and Kerr, whom people have begun to hear about these days, but interesting lesser ones like Paley, grandson of Paley of the *Evidences*: his cautionary tale on preservation is both timeless and timely.

In the main body of the book there is enough quotation from the originals to give their flavour, as well as everywhere the flavour of Pevsnerian comment. Two complete pieces have been rescued for an appendix. First there is Professor Robert Kerr addressing his fellow-architects in 1884, wittily reviewing fifty years of their profession since the RIBA's founding: "an amazing performance, outspoken to a degree unimaginable within the walls of the Institute now", says Sir Nikolaus Pevsner. Most of those Kerr was outspoken about were recently dead, and he ended hopefully: "Artistic sentiment has for the first time spread all over our country, one of the kindliest graces of the splendid Victorian age." Progress not with arms "but with the fruits of science and the flowers of art" could be part of "the advancing scheme of Anglo-Saxon civilisation". Paired with that, and like a breath of a different air, is William Morris writing for the *Fortnightly* in 1888: architecture is "actively ugly" as part of a society based on mechanical drudgery, only a new society will produce a new architecture, "the work, not of the leisure and taste of a few scholars, authors, and artists, but of the necessities and aspirations of the workmen throughout the civilised world". It is a beautiful comparison of the different forms Janus could take in the 1880s.

The book is full of stimulus for present-day writers rediscovering the Victorians. Here is Semper's design of the 1840s for St Nicholas Hamburg, along with his own defence of its mongrel Romanesque-Byzantine topped off by a Brunelleschian dome: a design beaten by Gilbert Scott's pure Gothic. Yet when Scott himself tried, unsuccessfully, to win another German competition in the 1870s, for a parliament house in Berlin, one of the many sources for the domed mixture he served up must have been his old rival's. Scott was pure only when it suited.

The deeply international background of the book comes out especially in the footnotes to the Semper chapter (a chapter with lish relevance too, for Sem influential in London in the In general the footnote *footnotes* in such a book bibliographer's goldmine, adding still more quotatio more *tesserae*.

A few more might be James Bentham the Ely quite likely did get his Gothic —that pointed arches were noticed in intersecting arches—from Thomas Gray share it in conversation Gray, said to have been observant of architecture: Bentham, James's brother, printer to Cambridge Universi both Benthams known to Horace pole, as appears in Walpole's to William Cole. "W. R. Grig" be William Rathbone Greg, hot's brother-in-law, Contro Her Majesty's Stationery Office social critic. And it is not quite to say that the future editor *Nineteenth Century* designed Grosvenor Hotel at Victoria Sta that partly cooperative design rightly signed by his father. the first note to the chapter bert Scott might have mentio series of well-illustrated article Scott's buildings in the *Architec Review* for 1908; not that the ar were especially fine but it was odd in 1908 to find them at all, the photographs were wonderf

It is a sign of the encyclo character of *Some Architec Writers of the Nineteenth Ce* that readers rush to supply more and pieces. The nineteenth was bag of a century and only an e ized ragbag of a book can hope sum it up, in architectural writ in other forms of ragpicking.

The Missal's come-back

A. N. L. MUNBY:

Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures 1750-1850

170pp plus 16 plates. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £4.50.

A. N. L. Munby's theme is the changing attitude of scholars and collectors towards medieval miniatures in the century after 1750. At the beginning of his period the artistic standards of the High Renaissance were universally accepted, Guilio Clovio's work was regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of the illuminator's art, and Gothic manuscripts were thought to "reflect the barbarity of the centuries in which they were painted". A hundred years later Ruskin was calling his missals "fairy cathedrals full of painted windows", Pugin decorated the Red Drawing Room at Scarisbrick Hall with copies of miniatures from a *Roman de la Rose*, and Auguste de Châtillon portrayed Victor Hugo's daughter Léopoldine holding an outsize Book of Hours—an enchanting picture reproduced as the frontispiece of this book. The process of change was slow to start but the final revolution was total.

This process is shown at work in two ways: through the varying fortunes of particular manuscripts and through the judgments of "experts". The chief manuscript to be considered is the Bedford Missal—really an early fifteenth-century Parisian Book of Hours. The subject of one of the earliest English monographs devoted to a single manuscript, this splendidly illuminated volume rose in price from £213 13s in the Duchess of Portland's sale in 1786, where George III tried but failed to buy it for Eton, to £687 15s in 1815 and to £1,000 paid for it in 1833 by Sir John Tobin, a Liverpool merchant. Lord Ashburnham having failed to buy it from Tobin's heirs, it was acquired by the British Museum, whose Trustees showed an uncharacteristic enthusiasm for its purchase, in contrast to their lack of interest in the Barrois and Stowe manuscripts.

The experts whose published works are called in evidence include the Abbé Rive, "an interesting, disagreeable, neurotic, quarrelsome man", whose views were relayed to the British public, without acknowledgement, by Thomas Astle; Joseph Strutt, the first man to record his admiration for Matthew Paris and for Queen Mary's Psalter; the inevitable Dibdin; Jean-Baptiste Seroux d'Agincourt, a French cavalry officer, and Sir Frederic Madden, who makes an unexpected appearance as a dandy "with large whiskers and a smart stick and a waistcoat". With Dr Gustav Waagen ("a most intelligent, clever, witty old gentleman, full of mimicry and drollery", Lady Eastlake noted) the professional art historian enters the scene.

But the book is very far from being a dry record of saleroom prices and art-historical judgments. When writing of Douce Dr Munby declares his intention of transforming "into a human being what to most readers is a Bodleian pressmark". In this he is outstandingly successful and a marvellous series of strong and eccentric characters come alive in his pages. There are dealers like William Young Ottley, John Boykett Jarman and the mysterious J. H. de Speyr Passavant, who after asking the British Museum £12,000 for the Alcuin Bible, ultimately sold it for £750. There are famous connoisseurs such as Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, and R. S. Holford, and little-known ones, such as the Rev Caesar de Missy and John Trotter Brockett.

Four collectors of special interest are singled out for extended treatment: Francis Douce, the talented but melancholic antiquary who resigned from the British Museum on being asked to submit a report on the work of a certain Mr Bean; Robert Curzon, author of *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, and Walter Sneyd, whose friendship is delightfully illustrated from the former's letters in the library of Keele University; and Bertram, 4th Earl of Ashburnham. The last-named's reply to Dr Todd declining to sell his Irish manuscripts for £500 to Trinity College, Dublin, merits inclusion in any future anthology of English letter-writing.

Readers of Dr Munby's classic biography of the greatest English collector of manuscripts, Sir Thomas Phillipps, and of his *The Cult of the Autograph Letter in England* will know that he is uniquely qualified to be the historian of this minor but fascinating aspect of the Romantic movement. His book is based on extensive research among unpublished manuscripts and unfamiliar printed sources, and he handles his mat with his customary clarity, suc ness and elegance. He is also a able collector of Macaulay, and surely not fanciful to discern th of the essayist's influence in prose, with its felicitous sense of ing and rhythm and marked co with style:

> Her [Mrs Douce's] death in was the occasion for some tepid expressions of condo At this distance, however, we not take sides; nor must we that Mrs. Douce belonged to sorely tried category, the wi collectors. . . . It was not though Douce stopped sho acquiring 13,000 printed books 400 manuscripts; his diary of cessions reveals a stream of quarian objects of all kinds; if Mrs. Douce did not look at an 'ancient rolling pin' or of the painted rood-screen Southwold, she may have been acquiescent in giving house to 'parts of a mummied Ibis, a piece of the outer coating human mummy', a 'Ca crocodile', or a plaster cast hermaphrodite.

Dr Munby calls Robert Cu "the most attractive figure in annals of book-collecting". Rea of this witty, richly informa generous and intensely enjo book will be justified in belie that among historians of librari author holds an equally enviabl tion.

Werner Blaser's *Mies van der Rohe* and Willy Boesiger's *Le Corbusier* (Thames and Hudson. each, paperback £1.50) deal two architects who have had books published about them any others of their generation the possible exception of Fr Lloyd Wright and Walter Gro The new books are neverthe welcome because they provide essential reference material cisely, clearly; and rela cheaply. They are mainly pictu books of the principal build arranged chronologically, with short descriptions of each build and brief but informative intro tions. The Mies van der R originally appeared in a larger mat in 1956, the choice of build being made with the archite help. The Le Corbusier choic just as authoritative.

The ogre's return

VE BAZIN:

e la chouette

p Paris: Grasset. 25fr.

quirk of language, the point of ature of Hervé Bazin's latest l can be more easily suggested glish than in French. It is that at which his preoccupation with world, whose contours might be ssed by *jeans* and *generation*, erges ironically with the world s older preoccupation: that of s and the other sense of genera- And point of departure matters , for, twenty-four years after *re au poing* showed us that, to n Rezeau", only vengeance at his terrible mother could be mainspring of his action as man writer, *Cri de la chouette* is the unt of her reappearance in his A second step had been taken the publication in 1950 of *La t du petit cheval*, but how far was from settling the issue the novel makes clear; and the ing note, so firmly sounded be- 's begins ("*Vipère au poing* et *Mort du petit cheval* étaient déjà romans. *Cri de la chouette*, leur , c'est aussi: l'identification des sonnages avec des personnes ui illusoire"), merely fans the

e "personnes", of course, are e of our business. What is is the ity and effects of the preoccu- ion with family and its relation writing. Jean Rezeau, fifty-ish, ly established as a novelist, remarried, after the accidental death of his first wife, to Bertille (widowed in the same car crash), heads a family that brings together his son and her daughter (the orphans) and the two children the survivors have had together. There has been no direct contact with "Folcoche", the ogre-mother, over the twenty-four years, but the death of *her* mother and the consequent mobilizing of the Rezeau clan over questions of inheritance bring about the improbable reunion. Jean, who has for so long shelved the direct question, must now learn what he does indeed feel. The vigilant mistrus, which *is* still there is nothing without the hatred, and Jean no less than the others is quickly reduced to a near-helpless witness as "Madame mère" switches her redoubtable energy through 180 degrees from generalized misanthropy and meanness to particularized adoration and generosity, unerringly prising out the one non-Rezeau element: Bertille's daughter Salomé.

While the surface results of this new kind of onslaught are experienced as events—regroupings, surprises, changes of many kinds—its deeper effect is to bring humiliatingly into Jean's consciousness the real nature of certain of his unconscious perspectives on the family: for example, the fact that its close unity had been forged from heterogeneous elements partly because that was what would most clearly mark it off from the Rezeau autarchy; how self-deceiving had been certain assumptions about his own emancipation; what significance that has for his freedom as a novelist to "invent characters".

M Bazin is one of those writers who have what might be called a masculine view of writing, seeing it as an activity associated with strength (a strength that needs to be fed on the real, the solid) and appealing to a particular understanding of the "workmanlike". There is plenty here of what has fed it: parent-child tensions, the right age for the Pill, the place of women, the need for roots, the awareness of aging. But what makes this more than a "workmanlike" novel is what might have been its greatest weakness: the return to Rezeau family history. By weaving the strand of Jean Rezeau son-and-novelist across that of Jean Rezeau man-and-novelist (where either separately could be the stuff of a "solid" novel) he has gone beyond the "Masculine". M Bazin is discovering, not just rendering.

The discovery is marked by the closing of brackets opened long ago. A line from *Vipère au poing* reads "Une chouette cria: je crus entendre la protestation de Folcoche"; that harsh call has become the title of the new novel. And the private battle-cry of the young Rezeau and his brothers ("Folcoche va crever!") is the last thing the old woman will say. Salomé's brief dance has brought a surprising victim; and a surprising revelation.

Whom the papers slay

ER WELLERSHOFF:

ladung an alle

p. Cologne: Kiepenheuer und ch. DM 19.80.

basis for Dieter Wellershoff's novel is a manhunt which took in the Osnabrück region of many some years ago. The "man the woods", as he was called, aged to create mass hysteria in ge section of the public, and we ess some of the mechanics of this ss here. The "invitation to yone" of the title might be ght of as an invitation to join in hunt: both physically and in Wellershoff brings out the repancy between the popular 's image of this near-ubiquitous gunman and the actual hounded an being, largely indulging in e more than breaking-and-entry order to keep alive. Within ten apters we enter the minds of a ber of people involved in the ntic, extended search operation, uding the prey himself, the detec- in charge of the whole exercise a zealous policeman shot in the formance of his duties. Almost ryone in the novel is depicted erstandingly, with a humanity ch stands in direct contrast to mass media's savagery and the ry of the hunt.

Einladung an alle occupies a terri- y somewhere between *In Cold* od and *Figures in a Landscape*. the one hand, it documents its y convincingly. However, the tual material is by no means ded self-consciously; it is in fact sensitivity with which Weller- ff describes the region that really es the novel its sense of realism. the other hand, the paraphernalia documentary (specific dates and ations; quotations and behind-the- es perspectives), the detailed racter portrayal and even the dness of the setting are subordi- ed to a more general concern society. Both hunter and hunted depicted as victims. For some the hunt is society's quest for a gegoat, an old battle distorted by the tabloids; for others it mes part of a professional rat- e. There are even Rousseauistic tones to the "man from the ds", for all the blackness with h the popular imagination is couraged to picture him.

All this makes *Einladung an alle* nd like the kind of amalgam of *minalroman* and existential novel h Peter Handke achieves in *Die st des Tormanns beim Elfmeter* which Wellershoff himself gestured towards in his earlier novel, *Die Schattengrenze*, it should be noted that this new work is more a novel of kaleidoscopic effects, of sudden and even deliberately crude contrasts. Genres are mixed but not merged. The highly subjective description of a policeman's heroic death is followed by the account of an autopsy on him, rendered in terms that would have done credit to the early Gottfried Benn; cheap journalistic chapter-headings are played off against the real drama of events; and lyrical nature descriptions are contrasted with bald map-references and the geometry of the chase.

Within this spectrum of varieties of realism, contrasting various attitudes and perspectives, Wellershoff can even be found indulging in a rather experimental permutational technique at some points to capture the rambling quality of the hunted figure's thought processes. Yet *Einladung an alle* avoids the stereotypes and commonplaces of both the documentary and the mentally unbalanced "outsider" novel, although it gathers much of its momentum from both of these modes. In essence, it is a work written with great sympathy both for the landscape and the sad figures who move across it.

All men together

IRA LEVIN:

The Stepford Wives

159pp. Michael Joseph. £2.

Ira Levin's novel, really a spaced-out short story, is prefixed with a quotation from Simone de Beauvoir. The struggle between the sexes, it says, no longer concerns women's desire to trap and tame men, but their wish to escape into the freedom men enjoy. "Now the attitude of the males creates a new conflict: it is with a bad grace that the man lets her go."

The story that follows is taut, rapid, frightening, quite ferociously readable, but it sedulously avoids grappling with the ideas that are first proposed for it. It is a clever piece of horror, and it would be ungracious to reveal its plot entirely; a sketch is enough. Stepford is a small, pretty American town, where most husbands spend a lot of time at the Men's Association, and model wives everlastingly scour, dust, wax and polish their model houses. Joanna and Walter Eberhart, newcomers and of Women's Lib inclinations, are amused and a little scornful. Joanna is relieved to find a like-minded friend in Mrs Bobbie Markowe, and Walter joins the Men's Association to alter its no-women-allowed constitution "from the inside". But it is not the Men's Association that is altered. Joanna, pressing closer and closer on the secret of the docile, hardworking wives of Stepford, with their oversized bosoms and their shortage of topics, sees first another friend, and then Bobbie succumb to the Stepford malady of compulsive, immaculate housewifery. And then it is her turn.

The book is very cunningly put together: rereading it one finds many little signs and clues to the eventual horror, which also answer some of the technical questions which the denouement arouses. On this scale it works very well, but it has abandoned the larger one of ideas. Certainly there are women everywhere voluntarily in practice as Stepford wives, very boring if they were not so dangerous. The book exhibits the type on a rapier, but then has no more to say on the matter in the pell-mell of the story.

But the prefix and the logic of the book both point at the *husbands* of Stepford as its real subject. Dale Coba, the sleek president of the Men's Association, exudes a cold disparagement; the weakness, greed or selfishness in the various members is suggested. The men's apparently conventional but really peculiar drawing together in their club-house, away from the women, is described plainly. But until the last few pages the story is told entirely from Joanna's point of view; the author has allowed himself no possibility of investigating the reasons for the coiled evil in the hearts of the Stepford men. And to tell that with the conviction and precision with which the narrative itself is told, would be to write the book the quotation seems to introduce, no less fascinating, and rather serious as well.

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The lifer's life

STANLEY COHEN and LAURIE TAYLOR :

Psychological Survival

The Experience of Long-Term Imprisonment.

216pp. Penguin. Paperback, 45p.

It might be fairly said that in the years between 1925 and 1960 the British prison system was, whatever the credibility-gap between intention and achievement, basically orientated towards the reform of offenders. In its borstal system, and later in the development of open prisons, it had substantial achievements which became the envy of many other countries. For all the shortcomings of its secure prisons, they were probably the most humane in Europe; but it was a system geared essentially to providing for short-term imprisonment. For long sentences in this country have always been few, and until the past decade a "long" sentence meant five to ten years.

Much of the effort that has gone into penal reform since the war has been concentrated upon reducing short-term imprisonment, and, while prison building programmes have certainly made less than adequate provision for short-timers they have been mainly directed towards what might now be termed "medium" sentences. This is hardly surprising when men serving sentences of more than five years make up less than 3 per cent of receptions in any one year. But two things have contributed to a change in respect of long-term imprisonment.

The first relates to the ending of capital punishment. Before 1957, when death was the only penalty for murder, those whose sentences were commuted to life imprisonment were normally the kind of people whose crimes were committed in extenuating circumstances, the average of nine years which they served was consistent with the improbability of their offending again. But, since 1969, life imprisonment has been passed on a number of offenders who would certainly have hanged, even between 1957 and 1965, when the "capital murder" provisions of the Homicide Acts were in force. Not only will these offenders be detained for longer, but the judges now have the option of making recommendations about the minimum period to be served, and those of twenty and thirty years are commonly made; there have, indeed, been recommendations of natural life.

The second relates to the recognition of organized crime. The affluence of the years since 1955 has been marked by an increase in violent crime, much of it associated with the legalization of gambling. This, together with the suppression of street prostitution, gave rise to the growth of "clubs" that were far more profitable victims for the protection rackets than the traditional spielers for whose passing *Fings Ain't Wot They Used To Be* was a kind of folk requiem. Violence, especially with firearms, became a part of the new criminal scene in London and certain provincial cities. This, combined with the steady growth of robberies of cash in transit, has had a clearly discernible effect upon the sentencing policy of the judges. In 1968 there were twenty-four men, other than lifers, received into prison with fixed sentences in excess of ten years; in 1969 there were twenty-eight, in 1970 thirty-eight. The receptions of "lifers" in those years were ninety-three, 104, and 129, and, while the majority of these were for the commonplace type of homicide in the domestic or sexual situation, a minority related to crimes of major violence committed by professional criminals, including the murder of policemen.

The numbers of long-termers are still small when compared with the total prison population, but their offences are of the kind that will inevitably limit their chances of parole, and some are subject to the restriction imposed by the judicially recommended minimum. Though the flame of hope may never be wholly extinguished, the reality for most of these men is that they will not see freedom again until they reach the age when most men in our society retire. A few will certainly die in prison.

But there is yet another factor at work. Until the mid-1960s, maximum security in British prisons was a relative concept. The Prison Commissioners and their successors in the new Prison Department of the Home Office took a generous view of escapes, and in the borstal ideology absconding was regarded as a normal milestone in the trainee's career. The escapes by the Train Robbers were unexpected, but it was the decision of George Blake not to remain for the whole of his forty-two years that finally and irreversibly galvanized pressure on the Prison Department in the form of Earl Mountbatten's Inquiry into prison escapes. Since, though by no means because of, Mountbatten, the pendulum has swung away from the benign paternalism of the Paterson tradition towards a new mode of containment in which security dominates.

At Wormwood Scrubs, where Blake was able to kick away some of the decaying fabric, the allotments by the wall have gone. The prison is dominated by barbed wire, inner fences, glaring lights, painted numbers and the purposeful padding of leashed Alsatians whom we now know, from a recent Parliamentary Answer, cost more to feed than a prisoner. For those who fall into Mountbatten's Category "A", for whom escape must be made as impossible as modern electronics, wire and dogkind can assure, there has been the Chinese-box effect, the secure unit within the secure prison.

The philosophy of maximum security

The earliest of these, the special security units that were established at Durham, Parkhurst and Leicester, met with Mountbatten's extreme disapproval, which was echoed by the subcommittee on the Advisory Council on the Penal System under the chairmanship of Leon Radzinowicz. They are just being replaced as part of the policy of dispersing long-term high-security prisoners in other secure prisons, a policy which was in direct opposition to Mountbatten's suggestion for a single high-security prison which would allow, through the very security of its perimeter, a greater degree of relaxation of control within the walls.

Stanley Cohen and Laurie Taylor have written about life in what was probably the most notorious of these units, the tightly cramped "E" Wing at Durham, made famous not least by the local Chief Constable's extraordinary statement that he thought some of the Train Robbers' friends might try to spring them with the help of tanks and limited atomic weapons. As a study it does not conform to the kind of inquiry that tends to be respectable in certain official and academic circles. There were no tests statistically evaluated, no carefully devised parametric devices to indicate changes in intelligence and personality. It is no little *Golden Treasury* of tables for headcounters. Dr Cohen and Mr Taylor are also guilty of a worse crime in the researchers' calendar; they did not get Home Office approval at the outset for what they were doing, and did not get permission to publish their material. On their own admission, they began as teachers in an extramural university class which had been laid on for "E" Wing, and in the course of teaching some sociology encouraged the prisoners in a self-study of their submarine-like environment.

The authors have some astringent things to say about officially sponsored research into the problems of long-term imprisonment; in an appendix they talk about such things as WDP—Window Dressing Potential—which, whatever else it may be, is pretty close to the bone. It is possible that there are some in the Prison Department who may cherish the hope that this little Pelican will waddle off into obscurity.

This is as unlikely as it would be undesirable, for, even if these researchers have chosen to dance the traditional *pas de deux* between academics and civil servants in pit boots, the sociological import of the book will long outlive any immediate bruises. They examine such issues as survival in extreme situations, the closed emotional world of security wing, and the attemp men make to fight back agai all-enveloping quality of an ex ment, which, because of its d tions of the time dimension, is midable enemy. And in chronicle of the pettiness of many of the restrictions that security imposes they emphasi massive character of the exper It is a densely written book highly readable.

Some prison staff, if they re will immediately see it as a li indictment of what they are but that is not the message of authors' polemic. Our society abolished the death penalty, portation and deliberate ph torture such as flogging, and only way it can think of dealing those whose crimes result in being defined as a menace to so is to remove them from it for long periods indeed. But the penal system is new to long prisoners. (Life plus ninety years was always considered a cal American extravagance.) as yet done no more than fo towards identifying the pro which their presence poses, be considering the dimensions of security risk. The Category system has had its effects throu the prison system as a whole; it made every closed prison a m for the electronics industry and vided a bonus for local Electr Boards, it has laid emphasi security everywhere to the e that open prisons are less used they were. For the compa small number who are in Cat "A" it has provided imprison but imprisonment more rigorou less flexible than that experi by the man serving a sentence.

There are enough of Pat protégés left inside the P Department to regret what has poned. If only that perky Trai ber had not been able to evad elderly, carpet-slippered nigh rols at Winson Green, if only pantechnicon could have been vented from driving up to the wall of Wandsworth to take away; if only, if only that double agent Blake had not been to discharge himself from the Sc . . . then perhaps prisons in might have been other than they But that fickle creature, P opinion, has determined othe By adopting a penal philosophy has not so much stood Kant Hegel on their heads as split skulls, it reasons that the enor of the crimes committed by long-term men in high security deprived them of any right to plain about the conditions that must endure. It is a poor argu and often poorly grounded in for by no means all the danger criminals, nor those guilty of most cruel crimes, end up ser thirty years. It denies the possi ties of either reform or serious habilitation. At least some of advocates of capital punishment soned that it might produce, gallows' eve, redemption.

Brushboys

SUSIE DANIEL and PETE
(Editors) :

The Paint House

Words from an East End Gang

128pp. Penguin Education.
back, 30p.

Mainly edited tape-recordings of reflections of an East End gang skinheads about schools, clubs, immigrants, violence, the police, the "Paint House"—a club meant to break up but ended painting up (hence the title). dialogue is convincing, the polit comment of the editors less so. far the short life of the Paint Ho reflects the temporariness of gang or of the outsiders who c in to start it gives food for thou about the value of this kind of

THE HISTORY OF IDEAS—2

National versions of an international phenomenon

BY ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO

HEN I ARRIVED in Oxford in 1939, it was enough to mention the word "idea" to be the address of the Warburg te. R. G. Collingwood, who ctured on the history of the f history, was ill, isolated and ied, and soon disappeared. had persuaded the English that istory of ideas was an un- activity? I suspect it was Namier. In the 1920s, when a student in the University of the history of ideas was the lity for which English historians were most famous. This repu went back to the days of Grote Lecky, Freeman, Bryce and . There were few books in other ges which could compete with Stephen's *History of English ht in the 18th Century* or with Bury's *A History of Freedom of ght* and *The Idea of Progress.* Acton managed to become s for a book on liberty he did write. For medieval political one went of course to the work gress by the brothers Carlyle, e were told (perhaps not quite) that no Italian study of a val jurist could compare with N. S. Woolf's *Bartolus of Sasso* (1913). The most significant ry of an idea published in Italy e 1920s, G. de Ruggiero's *Storia Liberalismo Europeo,* was in od and point of view a derivation from English models. De Ruggiero was a close friend of Collingwood who translated his book into ish. In the specific field of his of philosophy, there was little match Bosanquet's *History of etic* (as Croce reluctantly ted) or Burnet's much-admired *Greek Philosophy.*

e situation was clearly one of ge. To remain in the provincial very alert society of the University of Turin, a distinction was be ing apparent between the Law lty and the Faculty of Arts. e were historians, indeed eminent historians, on both sides. gh the study of law in Italy had ng Germanic imprint, students litical and social ideas in the Faculty were in sympathy with English tradition and with what American research on the his of ideas happened to be known very much at that time). The ish translation of the book on ous liberty by Francesco Ruf had shown that this interest was ocated. The masters of the Faculty set their pupils and, ally, their sons to work on es of English origin and sent to English-speaking universi The result constitutes a little- ed chapter of Piedmontese/ lo-Saxon cultural relations: o Einaudi, the son of the future dent of the Italian Republic, ed Burke and is now a professor at Cornell (and Director of the Luigi Einaudi Foundation in Turin); Edoardo Ruffini, the son of Francesco, studied parliamentary ideas of the Middle Ages and became the first cultural attaché in England after the Second World War; Alessandro Passerin d'Entrèves studied Hooker and medieval political thought under C. C. J. Webb and A. J. Carlyle in Oxford and later returned there as the Serena Professor of Italian Studies.

In the Faculty of Arts, by contrast, German "Ideengeschichte" was held in higher esteem than the English history of ideas. Federico Chabod, who had written his dissertation on Machiavelli in Turin (1924), went to Berlin to study under Meinecke: he returned to become the most influential Italian historian of his generation. Meinecke, who was recommended by Croce (the sympathy was rather one-sided), represented in many ways the most obvious alternative to the English approach to ideas. Though generalizations are precluded by the very list of names I have given above, the English approach tended to take the form of the history of the rise (and eventually of the fall) of a single specific idea, comprising its theoretical formulations and its embodiment in institutions. Even Bury's *Idea of Progress,* perhaps the most purely intellectual of all these books, deals specifically with the adoption of the idea of progress in historiography and sees connexions with the social environment. Meinecke was a historian of conflicting principles: national state versus cosmopolitanism, *raison d'état* against natural rights. More and more he liked to leave these conflicts unresolved and to create an atmosphere of pathos round his books with which English prose could hardly compete.

Meinecke was only one of the facets of German "Ideengeschichte" as it emerged before Italian eyes in the 1920s. Histories of political myths, of words charged with ideological content, of class-conditioned social ideas, multiplied both from the right and the left. Among those which made an impression on me at the time of their appearance I remember F. Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (1926); P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (1929); A. Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium* (1929); F. Gundolf, *Caesar, Geschichte seines Ruhms* (1925); B. Groethuysen, *Die Entstehung der bürgerlichen Welt- und Lebensanschauung* (1927).

It is no accident that books on the Middle Ages played such a large part even in the formation of an ancient historian like myself. These were the "model" books about which one spoke. K. Burdach's *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation* (1891 ff) seemed to be one of the supreme achievements of modern historiography. Discussions imported from Germany on the essence and chronological limits of certain periods (Middle Ages, Renaissance, Enlightenment) bordered on casuistry. Chabod wasted too much time on them. But perhaps they contributed indirectly to the notion of intellectual climate and thus rejoined the Burckhardtian *Kulturgeschichte.*

The publications of the Warburg Institute of Hamburg were of course noticed for their approach to iconography and, generally speaking, as a rallying-point for the new German currents of thought. The variety of the contributions, which included big names such as R. Reitzenstein and E. Norden among the classicists, made it difficult to separate those works by Warburg himself, F. Saxl, Edgar Wind, Erwin Panofsky and Ernst Cassirer, which represented the really original nucleus of the Institute. The wide influence of the Warburg Institute in Italy as well as in England developed only after the Second World War.

In the study of Greece and Rome, Germany made fashionable the history of "political" words. The model analysis of the word *fides* by E. Fraenkel (1916) is often given as the starting-point of the new vogue. But this type of research prospered among scholars who were far more interested in and committed to political ideology than Fraenkel ever was. R. Heinze in his postwar *Von den Ursachen der Grösse Roms* (1921) set the tone for the new inquiry which affected Rome more than Greece and progressed from one Roman virtue to the next until it ended in implicit or explicit Nazi-Fascist propaganda. Even the study of theological words—incorporated in the monumental *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (1933 ff)—was marred by racial prejudice, not to mention the methodological inadequacies which J. Barr was later to expose so convincingly (1961). The total result was, however, a new archive of ancient ideas as expressed in the Greek and Roman vocabulary which has since made much difference to research into the Classics and Early Christianity.

It is difficult now to account for the poor circulation of French "histoire des idées" in Italy during the period between 1920 and 1939. Neither Croce, who disliked both French rationalism and French irrationalism, nor Mussolini, who feared French democracy, can really be made responsible for this. All the research into "représentations collectives" which characterized the Durkheim-Mauss-Halbwachs tradition was (so far as I know) practically ignored in Italy. Marc Bloch was noticed in the 1930s as a pioneer student of agricultural systems, but not as the author of *Les Rois thaumaturges.*

This ignorance of course had its limits. A masterpiece such as *Il Giansenismo in Italia* by A. C. Jemolo (1928) would hardly have been possible without the French analysis of Port-Royal. Some years later Paul Hazard's *La Crise de la conscience européenne* (1935) made an impression and Henri Bremond's *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France* (1916 ff), though more slowly, also left its mark. More significantly, A. Omodeo, who helped Croce in editing the *Critica,* rediscovered the French liberal historians of civilization from Guizot to Tocqueville in his effort to escape from German historicism and Italian "attualismo".

But Italian historians of ideas remained indebted to the German tradition of "Ideengeschichte" and had to settle their accounts with it. The little-known *Storia d'una mente* by E. Grasselli (1932) tells in autobiographical terms how deep this commitment went. *La lotta contro la ragione* by Carlo Antoni (1942) and some of the earliest essays by Delio Cantimori (now in *Studi di storia*) are the first signs of the disentanglement which meant the end of the Crocean era.

It seems to me that the price English historians paid in the 1930s for remaining independent of German "Ideengeschichte" was to jettison their own tradition of the history of

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ideas. The main exception was at Cambridge, where Herbert Butterfield manfully battled against Namier and where E. M. Butler produced that singular criticism of German humanism, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* (1935). But the English mood of the late 1930s was expressed—at least for the ancient historians—by Ronald Syme when, in his *Roman Revolution*, he treated the Roman political vocabulary as "political catchwords", "a subject of partisan interpretation, of debate and of fraud".

It is not for me to recount the story of the increasing impact of refugee German thought on English intellectual life and its convergence with old and new native trends during the 1940s and 1950s. Today, after fifty years, English and Italian historians find themselves again at the same level—which is one of lively interest in the history of ideas in both countries. There is nothing very surprising in this. The popularity of the history of ideas is a universal phenomenon. If there is something more specifically common both to Italian and English historians, it is that they are increasingly dependent on France and on the United States for their inspiration and their methods.

Again there are exceptions. Historians of ideas like E. H. Gombrich and Isaiah Berlin have no peers elsewhere in their command of the theoretical presuppositions of their work. On the other hand there is in Italy at least one historian of ideas, Franco Venturi, who, perhaps because of his French formation, dominates his own chosen fields of work—the European Enlightenment and Russian nineteenth-century reform movements—without any concession to fashionable currents. But in neither country is there anything that can be compared with the *Annales* or with structuralism as major movements of historical research. Nor is there anything like the less sophisticated but massive and effective American exploration of ideas from sociological points of view. Young historians both in England and in Italy are more and more thinking in terms of the circulation of ideas, cultures of the lower classes, collective representations, utopias and modern myths, acculturation, position of intellectuals and of holy men, structure of scientific revolutions, and so on—all of which seem to have either a French father or an American mother (possibly with a German grandfather).

In this enthusiasm for ideas, the most difficult thing is to know what one still means by an idea; attitudes, propaganda, dreams, subconscious needs, symbolic figures are included. The traditional oppositions between ideas and institutions, between ideology and society or, quite simply, between beliefs and facts have become far too crude to define the new levels of exploration. Even the dualism between consciousness and society ably exploited by H. Stuart Hughes (1959) is inadequate. This is certainly the point which the astute Michel Foucault has grasped in trying to put across his new "archéologie du savoir" to replace "l'histoire des idées" ("affranchir l'histoire de la pensée de sa sujétion transcendentale").

It explains too why pure history of ideas, in the form elaborated in America by A. O. Lovejoy's group with its organ, the *Journal of History of Ideas* (1940), seems to be unable to indicate a clear direction in the present situation. With Lovejoy—notwithstanding the extraordinary merits of the research he did or inspired—one always had the feeling of a quasi-Platonic world where ideas could be counted. The Oxford professor D. S. Margoliouth had the reputation of believing in the existence of thirty Indo-European Ur-jokes from which all the others derived. Lovejoy did not believe that the number of Ur-ideas was much greater.

It was already very difficult to decide whether one could separate the ideological from the institutional element in the old notions of liberty, peace, federalism, chivalry, and so on. When we come to the collective representations of belief in witches, to the parson's wife or to the English nanny—not to mention the two classical examples of French origin: the idea of childhood and the idea of madness—the distinction becomes meaningless. It is indeed the impossibility of regulating *a priori* the traditional conflict of precedence between institutions and principles or between society and ideology that gives sense and zest to the new confusion. The period of experiment is bound to last for some time, and so is the confusion of languages. We hear less and less of orthodox Marxism; notice the transition from Marxism to structuralism of the most original and internationally influential French student of Greek thought, J.-P. Vernant. Russian Marxists do not help either, at least in the field of classical studies. The latest article on Freedom in Rome by E. M. Staerman in the *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1972, No 2, is a warning.

I hope it is not simply an ancient historian's prejudice to say that the new exploration in the field of ideas seems up to now more rewarding when remote cultures are its primary object. The mere task of finding linguistic and conceptual equivalents to our ways of thinking in other cultures—or alternatively the necessity of acknowledging that these equivalences do not exist - throws light on ourselves and on the others. I recollect the pleasure of recognizing that the ancient Egyptian attitudes to speech and silence could be a thread to guide me in my inexperience through the various stages of Egyptian civilization. And I have no doubt that the appearance of the notion of heresy in Early Christianity and Late Judaism means a caesura in of thought and social organi

But when we come to society we need to know wha can believe rather than what i lieved. There is an inescapable tion of truth, if the historian be a responsible actor in society and not a manipula opinions. This need, incide seems to be taken too lightly by various sociologies of knowle cluding the novel one of Fo The resulting paradox I may put in personal terms. When I came a professor at University lege London more than twenty ago, it did not take me realize that the best historian ideas in the place were two ing scientists, J. Z. Young and Medawar. But the fact tha talked about sciences I did not not only paralysed me in rega them (which is easy to underst but also paralysed them in rega me or anybody else in my posi That is, they lacked the pot public necessary for developing scientific ideas in an historical text.

To take another less persona ample, it is perhaps characte of our time that we have so discussions of the religious ide underdeveloped countries, bu little analysis of our own relig beliefs with the simple purpo ascertaining their credibility. ing recent years in Italy scholarly books have appeared heretical sects than on Catholicism. The men who be able to illuminate the con porary scene by talking about in its historical context have found their public. Therefore are left with the English nanny the cargo cult for the express our nostalgias and dissatisfa

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Arnaldo Momigliano is Profess Ancient History at University London.

The status of biography

ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO :

The Development of Greek Biography

127pp. Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £4.

In this short but tightly-packed and brilliantly intelligent book (or rather collection of lectures) Arnaldo Momigliano traces the growth of ancient biography from the fifth century to the first century BC. In a sense, therefore, his text is a running commentary on that rather irritating ancient doctrine that biography is a less serious activity than history. It seems irritating because, although bad biography is certainly as bad as the worst kind of historiography, or even worse, surely one must be allowed to say that good biography is excellent history—and in some ways more valuable than the type of history which prefers to exclude the biographical, human element altogether in favour of "tendencies".

Professor Momigliano is not so certain. When he touches on this ancient disqualification in his introduction, which he entitles "The Ambiguous State of Biography", he deliberately adds a note of warning about the more reputable and exalted status that biography enjoys today: "It is a paradox which invites questions—and doubts." At the very end of the book, he returns to these doubts, and we find him concluding that there was something to be said, after all, for the old distinction between biography and history:

> The Greeks and the Romans realized that writing about the life of a fellow man is not quite the same as writing history. Perhaps, we can do better. Perhaps we can absorb biography into history without any residuum. But we must not be too hasty. By keeping biography separate from history the Greeks and the Romans were able to appreciate what constitutes a poet, a philosopher, a martyr, a saint. They were also able to appreciate what remains human in a king or in a politician. That dim figure, Skylax of Caryanda, the explorer of the Indian coasts and the first biographer, has left us with a problem.

That Professor Momigliano should select Skylax of Caryanda for his final punch-line is a measure of his formidableness as a scholar—and perhaps of his limitations as a popularizer. The nucleus of the book consists of three chapters tracking to earth these "dim figures", such as Skylax and his successors; and at the end comes the incidental observation (the book is full of incisive asides of this kind) that, when we come to Roman times, biography served the purpose of keeping emperors within the bounds of morality.

But back to Skylax. He appears, we are told, to have written some sort of biographical work in the decades around 480 BC. And in another chapter, comprising a short but magisterial survey of "Modern Theories on Ancient Biography", Professor Momigliano adds a note of his own view about these origins. Like any view expressed by him, it deserves serious consideration, for his opinions are always quite likely to become canonical:

> Curiosity was a far more po ful motive in determining oldest form of historical rese than modern scholars are pared to admit. . . .'I suspect at first the Greek reader did go to biography because he interested in himself. He wa to know about heroes, poets, sual men, such as kings tyrants. He liked biographies as much as he liked foreign Later, however, there were in Greece readers who too biography as a mirror of hu nature.

In other words, there are interesting features about this b One of them is the examination some depth, of a significant ject. The other is the satisfac to be derived from reading the clusions based on many years incisive study, reached by an ex tional scholar. That is to say, If a reader has only the wo interest in biography and graphers, he is offered the al tive stimulus of watching a h class technique in action.

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Emotional meanings

RICHARD HOFSTADTER :

America at 1750

304pp. Cape. £3.25.

Richard Hofstadter died at the height of his powers in October 1970. He had intended to write a major history of the United States, estimated (in 1969) that the task would take him eighteen years, and planned to complete it in three massive volumes of about 500,000 words each. Beatrice Hofstadter has been able to gather and publish all that was completed of this noble venture: eight comparatively short chapters on America in the middle of the eighteenth century, and a few pages of what was intended as a general introduction.

Hofstadter had himself described the projected work as

> A political history of the American people, but one that is not narrowly construed, since I propose to include whatever is necessary in the way of economic, cultural and biographical background . . . to give special attention to the role of élites and of leadership, the development of our political practices in a comparative setting, the effect of urbanization on politics, the role of social mobility on American political culture, slavery and the history of the Negro, ethnicity and status in their relationship to political behaviour, the history of political ideas and of focal institutions like the political party, and, in the final volume, the development of America as a world power and the emergence of a mass society.

This indicates both what might have come and Hofstadter's special role in American historiography. Working for the most part within the apparently conventional framework of American political history, he rephrased the questions which had been asked, identified the problems which required emphasis, and succeeded in writing new history about old issues in a way which was "relevant" in the truest and best sense of the word. American historiography was to be gently prised away from Jeffersonian rhetoric; politics would become institutional rather than polemical; a comparative element would have been introduced; attention would have been focused on cities, racial minorities, and the complex problems of concentrated power in a sprawling democratic society. It would have been history appropriate for the late twentieth century, written by a man of high sophistication, urban upbringing, and non-British descent. It would have been the crowning achievement of a man who had done so much, in so civilized a manner, to see American history in the light of what it has become and not as the record of a broken promise or the defeat of a rural dream.

No one can question Hofstadter's influence, but he broke most of the rules of the game as it is played by American professional historians. He did little basic research, and what he did was mainly on printed rather than manuscript sources. He ranged from period to period, took up a problem, looked at it with a candid eye, advanced a hypothesis, wrote brilliantly but briefly, and then passed on to something else. The great unwritten work was to be "a general interpretative synthesis", and most of his previous writing had been synthesis at the highest level, not the massive research on which most professional reputations are based. He directed graduate studies, but in an easy-going way which left young scholars free to discover their own problems, make their own mistakes, and claim the credit for whatever success they might achieve. One cannot imagine him presiding over a research team or spinning out great webs of computerized data. He did not participate in academic politics, and was seldom seen bargaining, broking or lobbying at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

Nor can it be said that in his chosen fields Hofstadter advanced theses which were above criticism, and in several instances recent work tends to question or at least to qualify his generalizations. Jacksonian democracy was not really identified with the drive towards individualistic capitalism; his view of Populism contained a half-truth at the best; his interpretation of Progressivism as the consequence of a status revolution is vulnerable at several points. Yet in each of these examples his insight started up a new train of argument and brought life to events which had become stale. So, too, his studies of the history of academic freedom, anti-intellectualism, and the "paranoid style" in American politics opened new vistas for thousands of Americans who were inspired to take a fresh look at the political and intellectual evolution of their society. Turning to the Progressive historians, he subjected the men of widest influence on twentieth-century historical writing to a critique which was all the more effective because it was eminently fair. Constantly reading and reflecting on American history, he found much that could not be contained within the framework of traditional historiography; unlike many of the rising generation he did not, however, mistake obscurity for profundity, and presented his arguments in a style which was both lucid and civilized.

The chapters of *America at 1750* were not written in the order in which they are presented. Mrs Hofstadter explains that the last two, on American religion, were written first, and that her husband regarded them as complete; the chapters on indentured labour, the slave trade, and slavery had gone through several drafts, and were left in what might well have been their final form. A chapter on "the middle-class world" was in much the same state, though a certain unevenness in presentation suggests that there might well have been further revision. The first chapter, on population and immigration, was written last and in haste. Though the book can therefore be read as a whole, it really consists of two long essays—on White and Black servitude, and on religion—which had reached their final form, with some other material which was still being worked over but had reached the stage in draft at which it could see the light of day. Unfortunately the study of colonial elites, which would have been the centrepiece in this social portrait, had not progressed far enough for inclusion.

There are some indications of the way in which Hofstadter would have approached the central problem of the Revolution. It is significant that he gave first priority to the study of colonial religion, and that the fragmentary introduction consists mainly of a sketch of the rise of Protestantism. Towards the end of the chapter on the Great Awakening, he writes:

> Since social position, economic interest, personal temperament, and the accident of geography also affected men's attitudes toward resistance to England, it is artificial, even in considering New England, to put too much weight on religious affiliations or creeds. But it is true that only a small liberal elite could experience the moral and emotional meaning of the conflict with England in purely secular terms. Many Americans who took part in the Revolution did so *as Christians* for whom it was intellectually necessary that the Revolution appear as an incident in some providential scheme; their moral energies could best be enlisted through the familiar Protestant methods of self-examination, self-accusation, discipline, and purgation.

This suggests that Hofstadter would have restored emotion, belief, and the assurance of conviction to their rightful place in American historiography. The "economic man" and his equally calculating cousin the "political man" have had too long an innings. From his early work on social Darwinism, to the anti-intellectualism and the paranoid style, Richard Hofstadter emphasized that dubious theory and irrational prejudice could greatly influence the life of a nation and deserved the serious attention of historians. If his great work had been written he might have done full justice to the influence of worthier intellectual forces upon American history.

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The harder the better

PHILIP MARTIN:

Shakespeare's Sonnets

Self, Love and Art

169pp. Cambridge University Press. £3.20.

Shakespeare's sonnets are notorious. Steevens omitted them from his 1793 edition of the Works, "because the strongest Act of Parliament that could be framed would fail to compel readers into their service". According to Robert Graves, their later popularity depended on an insulting underestimation of their difficulty. His study of the Quarto's sonnet 129 showed it to be, on the contrary, "a furiously dynamic crossword". And here he stated the principle on which Empson's work, and later criticism of the Sonnets, was to be founded:

> If we must choose any one meaning, then we owe it to Shakespeare to choose at least the one he intended *and one embracing as many meanings as possible, that is, the most difficult meaning. It is always the most difficult meaning that is the most final.*

Philip Martin's book demonstrates how dangerous that principle can be.

This can be illustrated by his treatment of two sonnets. In sonnet 94 the octet praises a self-isolating chastity in those whose beauty arouses love in others. The sestet elaborates the tag, "Corruptio optimi pessima", in a conventional flower image:

> The sommers flowre is to the sommer sweet,
> Though to it selfe, it onely live and die,
> But if that flowre with base infection meete,
> The basest weed out-braves his dignity.

The point of the sonnet is partly explained by those on either side of it. Evidently the young man to whom the sonnets are addressed has lost his long upheld sexual distaste and is indulging in some affair. Consequently the qualities that Shakespeare criticized in the earliest sonnets are now praised; coldness, once stigmatized as miserly self-love, becomes the rarest form of purity—but one the young man no longer possesses. The praise of the octet is ironic *in application*. Hence also the strength of the sestet. For the phrase, "with base infection meete", suggests physical disease; the young man's new loose living rots him physically and morally. And this reading gives point to the obtrusive physical reality of the last line: "Lillies that fester, smell far worse than weeds."

This, in essence the old-fashioned intepretation, makes coherent sense of the whole of the sonnet. It was, however, dismissed by L. C. Knights and then Professor Empson, who could *not* believe Shakespeare to be praising a coldness he had earlier criticized. Missing the simple irony, Professor Empson read the poem as an ironic praise for the accomplished hypocrisy of Shakespeare's beautiful but Machiavellian friend. Elaboration of the sonnet's infinite number of potential ambiguities allowed for this, as for any interpretation. But this reading fails to provide a logical connexion between the octet and sestet and cannot make coherent sense of the poem as a whole. Mr Martin, to his credit, tries first to read the poem straight, fails, and collapses with relief into the vaulty, voluminous ambiguities of Professor Empson's reading. This still leaves him with a "cryptic and unexplained" poem, but it is just this obscurity that wins his praise.

Mr Graves's dictum should be countered by a literary equivalent of Occam's razor. The best interpretation is the one which accounts for the poem's every detail in the simplest way. This will not discount the poem's ambiguities. Poems do use ambiguities, to effect, but they are clearly defined by the poem itself. The other sonnet, 62, illustrates this perfectly.

Mr Martin, having fallen for the rich if incomprehensible ambiguities of sonnet 94, finds this poem something of an anticlimax: "It is less striking, less enigmatically challenging." But this is the sonnet that is wholly ambiguous, holding two contrary readings in absolute balance:

> Sinne of self-love possesseth al mine eie,
> And all my soule, and al my every part;
> And for this sinne there is no remedie,
> It is so grounded inward in my heart.
> Me thinkes no face so gratious is as mine,
> No shape so true, no truth of such account,
> And for my selfe mine owne worth do define,
> As I all other in all worths surmount.
> But when my glasse shewes me my selfe indeed,
> Beated and chopt with tand antiquitie,
> Mine owne selfe love quite contrary I read
> Selfe, so selfe loving were iniquity,
> 'Tis thee (my selfe) that for my selfe I praise,
> Painting my age with beauty of thy daies.

The first reading is easy. Shakespeare loves himself. No one looks quite as nice as he, no one is quite so excellent. The sestet begins the traditional turn: a look in the mirror is enough to warn Shakespeare off such narcissism; it is ludicrous for him to love such a battered old man. The final couplet completes the turn in a rather empty compliment. It is the young man Shakespeare loves as himself, and his youth rejuvenates him. The unlikeliness of this, Mr Martin's and the accepted reading, should be sufficient initial warning. Are we seriously to believe Shakespeare loves himself in this besotted way? The sestet gives a clue; like Shakespeare, we are to read his self-love "quite contrary". The final couplet says how: "'Tis thee (my selfe) that for my selfe I praise."

Returning to the beginning with this new meaning, we find the poem makes much better sense. Shakespeare's "Sinne of self-love" is the sin of homosexuality, the love of his own self-sex (in the form of the young man, his "selfe"). This sin possesses him completely, he can't do anything about it, "It is so grounded inward" in his heart. For Shakespeare no face is as beautiful as that of his lover (thence the sive), nobody so perfectly buil one—naturally—whose faith so much to him. The next two are crucial. On the first, reading, they run: "And, for own purposes, I define my own by the amount that I outgo all [people] in all their different of worth." But the strange "I all other" is the sonnet's key young man is the "I all other Shakespeare's other self, and the lines distinguish between the thus: "And, as far as my own goes, I set the limit ("do defi on my own worth/in accordance how much my other self (you, man I love) exceeds me in all p sible kinds of worth."

The double reading continues: according to the octet, Shakespea loves the young man. But when sees his own reflection, he must assess his love. Just as, on the reading, "Mine owne selfe love qu contrary I read" forced Shakespe to reject what he had just said can't love himself when he's so —so now it reverses the second re ing. It is grossly improper for old self (Shakespeare) so to love young self (the young man). Sha speare praises the young man as self ("This thee (my selfe) that my selfe I praise"), so allow Shakespeare to describe himself beautiful ("Painting my age w beauty of thy daies"). This, course, he did in the octet: " thinkes no face so gratious i mine." So we are driven back the beginning, and the first sec again.

Such is the controlled use of biguity which operates in Sha speare's sonnets. Mr Martin's boo cannot help but fail in its gene assessments—of Donne, Sidn Spenser, Drayton, Daniel, as well Shakespeare—when it is so weak its detailed analyses.

Browning years

ROY E. GRIDLEY:

Browning

192pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £2.50 (paperback, £1.20).

This is one of the first pair of books in a new series, "Routledge Author Guides", under the general editorship of B. C. Southam. Mr Southam may be rapidly becoming the Henry Ford of critical publishing, but he apparently does not believe history to be bunk, since the special quality of this new series is to be "its historical emphasis": "in the treatment of the great literary writers . . . we are trying to establish . . . the social and historical context of the author's life and times". The idea is not quite as new for such a series as the editor claims (Evans's "Literature in Perspective" has a similar principle), but it is none the less attractive enough.

Unfortunately Roy Gridley applies this strategy in the case of Browning with uncertain aim and uncertain success. He swings from a very broad understanding of "social and historical context" for Browning's early years (Napoleon's invasion of Russia, Owenism, the Liverpool-Manchester railway are all laid under tribute) to a much narrower one for the years in Italy and England from 1846—in effect simply Browning's social milieu in these countries. The value of the contextual material given on either scale is not always clear. On the larger scale there is the inevitable problem of relevance. Apparently *all* the contemporary facts are candidates for "context", since some are frankly admitted not to have impinged on Browning (for example the publication of *The Communist Manifesto*—"the great literary document of the decade"). So the author's selection is bound to seem arbitrary at some points. Why not admit the development of photography in the 1830s as readily as the development of the railway? And why the inexplicable concentration on events in France rather than in any other foreign country?

But narrowing the aperture, as Mr Gridley does later, does not increase depth of focus. Any estimate of Browning's relationship with Elizabeth Barrett is carefully excluded as presumably not sufficiently "historical"; this is an interesting move, but Browning's acquaintance in Italy with W. W. Story and so forth—which is what we are given instead—is surely not more important. These very difficulties of making either kind of context significant for Browning *are* interesting as a mark of his immunity to contemporary history, but Mr Gridley only intermittently takes this view of the matter.

As far as the ostensible aims of the series are concerned Mr Gridley is most rewarding on Browning's literary context—in identifying his place in English literary activity of the day, decade by decade, and in suggesting parallels with Balzac, Dostoevsky, and Melville. But the strongest parts of the book are its accounts, in a more conventional critical mode, of an interesting selection of individual poems, of *Pippa Passes* and "Cleon" for example (though the latter is also well related to the higher criticism of the Bible). Through these lucid, unpretentious discussions Mr Gridley accumulates quite impressively a sense of Browning's integrity and inventiveness. His endeavour as an artist is made attractive in this book to a degree not achieved by some more ambitious studies, and for this reason it deserves attention.

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PETER DAVIES

THE HISTORY OF IDEAS—3

The attractions of past science

BY JOHN NORTH

Mathematics, Natural Philo- and Natural Religion, are in measure dependent on the of MAN; since they lie the cognizance of men, and judged of it by their powers faculties.

WAS WRITING in an age of cut and dried philosophy, but knew when to throw in a "in some measure". fic ideas do not occur *ex* or *ex nemine*, whether or not are more interesting than the who have them. "The autography of a man whose business thinking", began the late G. Collingwood's autobiography, ald be the story of his ht." But how much detachdid he think possible? Write what any man once did, you are likely to be saying what d a mind to do. You are on way to becoming a historian of , and adopting a style without ing it, like Molière's Monsieur dain. Whether or not you will accepted as such seems to depend how big the ideas are, and on in other considerations which orians of ideas seem not pred to articulate. Few historians territorial claims very seriously, since such claims are made from to time—"the history of science segment of the history of ideas", example, or "the history of ce is foreign to history proper" day as well begin by saying why like these claims and these titles. dislike the titles "historian of ce" and "historian of ideas", because they are indefinable, because they are constrictive. r having been applied for some in a professional context, they den, until the less imaginative ber of the profession believes his title tells him what he ld and should not discuss, if he be true to his clique. Academic lers, like national frontiers, their uses, but it is a moot whether these are compensaenough for the shelter they to mavericks, or for the obles they put in the way of so y laudable pursuits. The ces are, and always have been, ed with other intellectual and ral pursuits, the arts, religion, philosophy, so that it is often sible to say where one ended the other began. Even between natural sciences there are frons as fickle as the national sort, if a modern historian of chemy or physics, for instance, refuses look beyond their present place his map, he fails us a historian. me historical subjects lend selves to a conceptual treatment readily than others. Competent ories of specific philosophical s have been written from at least early years of the eighteenth cen (J. J. Bruckner, Charles Batteux, so on), and by expecting less of story one could push the date k 2,000 years. Although good hisies of mathematics have never numerous, there are here, as philosophy, criteria of proof and tability which make adulation of the trivial more apparent, if not more difficult, than in less formal subjects. In a sense, the problem is there reversed; it is more congenial to become an expert in one system than a dabbler in many. Likewise in the empirical sciences, the more highly formalized a science is, the more intellectually satisfying it tends to be in isolation, with the result that a type of historian appears who seems to think that his only mission is to exhibit his hero's work, emend it where necessary, and commend it where commendation is due. He is a sort of chairman of examiners and glorified proof-reader combined. Occasionally he will stick at editing texts (". . . no less than twenty emendations upon the German text of Schnupfenius and Schnapsius"). Because the work is so onerous this creates the illusion that it is a historical end in itself. For what the observation is worth, I note that those who call themselves historians of ideas do not, as a rule, tangle with the editing of texts. In view of the parlous financial state of our university presses, they are very wise.

The intrinsic attractions of past science are a significant snare in more ways than one, for they place the historian in one of Hegel's many dilemmas. (How, Hegel asked himself, could he, as a philosopher, participate in the bloody events of the Napoleonic wars, which were the only meaningful events of his world?) Should he too be disturbed at the thought of his non-combatant role? Is he nothing but a lapsed scientist? The thought might drive him deeper into mere technicalities, or it might lead him to look for increasingly abstruse historical determinants. The divergence leads to much dissension. It is easy enough to see how a history of the Darwins, Malthus, Haeckel, and Huxley, for example, may require, and at times demand, a social, economic, and political treatment, and it is only marginally more difficult to concede that there could be something in Boris Hessen's approach to Newton's *Principia*; but there are in the history of mathematical and scientific ideas places where the intellectual structure is so rich, the social element so tenuous, so illusory, or so irrelevant, and the techniques for its extraction so crude, that only a bore or a fanatic would insist on applying them. It is not enough to argue vaguely that mathematics has repercussions in application, for the essence of pure mathematics is that it has none as a defining constituent.

Again, it is all very well to say that human thought is neither called forth, nor changed, without external stimulus, but psycho-history is not yet an exact science, and I imagine that few historians would like it if it were. (Note Collingwood's reference to the "fashionable scientific fraud of the age", and more recently the mild hostility with which Frank Manuel's psychological studies of Newton have been received by Newtonians.)

But perhaps the most pathetic gesture of all towards sociology is when the social milieu is equated with a few influential clubs and scientific societies. Even the British Association represents a pretty small section of the thinking and unthinking world. It is as though one were to write on the relations of parliament and the people, and mention only the Athenaeum.

Like Voltaire's Emilie, who had a penchant for translating Newton but an aversion from history ("which overwhelms the mind without illuminating it"), you probably find yourself without a taste for both subjects. On the other hand, the tastes of historians themselves are many. At one extreme there is the Cartesian dream, that everything within the province of human cognition is connected with every other thing, by chains of reasons of the sort to be found in geometry; and that philosophical rationalism should be somehow extended to historical events. There is the Humean method of toning down this extreme view: reason—in Hume's language—is and ought only to be the slave of the passions. And then, continuing to the other end of the spectrum, we find at last the dull, plodding chronicler of the particular, who proves with anecdotal detail—by Dickensian example, as we might say, rather than Kingsleyan precept. The more attention he gives to detail, the more readily can he refute other men's generalizations.

Now it is often supposed that the historian who meddles with the sciences simply must be of the Cartesian disposition, but if we except the sub-species with sociological tendencies, and a few others, this is untrue. Historians who write of science are no sinister phalanx with a characteristically scientific weaponry, but a group with widely divergent interests, and facing in many directions. They are drawn from many different backgrounds—far more than is the case with the "historians of ideas" group—and they lack the *esprit de corps* of the generally well-disciplined members of our university schools of modern history, in which conformity may be largely illusory, but where there is at least a common denominator of training. There is, admittedly, a small historicist fringe, for the most part made up of scientists who have little to do with history, but who believe in the possibility of prediction from a logic of historical events. They write books about life in the year 2000, and such things, and, so far as I know, they are not taken very seriously in academic quarters, where even historism, the notion that the history of a thing is an explanation of it, is often regarded as dangerous and deviationist.

The act of generalization is, of course, an essential part of writing history, and those who try to write history entirely in the form of singular statements, perhaps for safety's sake, are generally singularly dull. The historian lives in a permanent state of apprehension lest historical evidence be selected simply to ensure the truth of some preconceived generalization. We all know the tranquillizer to dispel the fear. Settle for dull certainty, exclude nothing, leave the dangerous work to others, and steer clear of "ideas". The man who trafficks with the history-of-ideas crowd is sure to be tempted to categorize and classify. And that, too, is the temptation of a scientific subject-matter, which shows least historical complexity when human beings are least in evidence. Temptations are a matter of taste, but these are temptations into which all historians with taste will pray to be led.

This much having been said, I am not sure that I can discern any clear message from "historians of ideas" which could be related to the specific needs of scientific history. When Arthur Lovejoy wrote the introduction to the first number of his *Journal for the History of Ideas*, in 1940, it was evidently his chief aim to promote collaboration between scholars in different provinces of intellectual history. He mentioned so many different categories of what I suppose he meant by idea, that it might have been easier to limit his interests by saying what they excluded. Scientific discoveries and theories, philosophical ideas in literature and the arts, preconceptions, categories, metaphors, pervasive and widely ramifying doctrines, and even classical and modern thought as a whole, all fell into his scheme. It is difficult to escape the feeling that Lovejoy was brought up by Hegel, whose writings are permeated with a symbolism of spirit, thought, conception, and idea—and indeed, of an Idea so powerful that, through its realization in history, God rules the world.

For Lovejoy's followers, "idea" can mean anything from a narrowly defined concept to some indefinable "spirit of the age". It can be a passing mood, or one of a thousand "isms", a tentative thought, or a generalization of Toynbeean or Kuhnian proportions. It can relate to absolutely anything. Ponder for a moment too long on whether a toothpick is a scientific instrument, accidentally come across a decorative specimen, preferably signed, and

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Of course these things can be done well, and of course the result need not be trivial. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being*, for example, was well written and far from trivial, and he did history a service in drawing together scholars from adjacent disciplines on the evolution front, with excellent results to be seen, for instance, in the volume *Forerunners of Darwin* (ed Bentley Glass, Oswei Temkin, and W. L. Straus). But there is evidence enough elsewhere that the abstractive approach to history can misfire badly: it is often undisciplined, it can be obsessive (as collecting stamps depicting railway trains might be), and above all it lends itself to distortion, whether by introducing anachronistic conceptions or merely by inflating the importance of the trivial.

Jackdaws of the past

As against this approach, there is that of a number of men who were active especially between the two world wars and who resembled somewhat the great seventeenth-century English antiquaries. They noted everything down, as long as it was old, and preferably quaint. In some cases their virtues included a willingness to collect artefacts (to which historians of ideas seem generally oblivious), so reminding us that history is not necessarily founded wholly on literary sources. But unlike so many philosophers, who have been unburdened with the desire to know more than what the past *might* have been like, they dispensed with their critical judgment and acted like jackdaws. They forgot the words of the great philosopher Brillat-Savarin, to the effect that man lives not on what he eats, but on what he digests.

Brickbats enough have been aimed at George Sarton and Lynn Thorndike on this score, some of them well merited, although I have no wish to add to them, for both have saved many of us from untold drudgery. Their eclectic approach showed that invaluable insights into the history of past civilizations are to be had from a study of astrology, alchemy, Hermeticism, phrenology, witchcraft, and most of what is conventionally passed off as scientifically disreputable and worthless. *Ecrasez l'infâme !* (Actually, Sarton had some curious prejudices, and his dismissal of Galen's physiological writings as inferior is notorious.) Such systems of thought come into being to serve the needs of their creators, and were perpetuated by others of like mind. Deliberately to leave them out of the historical reckoning when writing of men who believed in them is to be more than selective; it is to be anti-historical. This does not mean that it is mistaken to be censorious, in the manner of Gibbon, for example. If you reproach past science, however, you do so as a scientist, and not as an historian.

The line of division is tenuous, and many have crossed it inadvertently. It seems that for many people history is pointless without some living purpose. We might mention Aristotle, whom many historians of ideas have no doubt put into their family tree, but who wished to reconstruct the past merely with a view to learning from it. To take a few other examples from the past: the great seventeenth-century Jesuit historian of astronomy, J.-B. Riccioli, was looking for the true system of the world, although he never seemed to be in much of a hurry to find it. His contemporary, Ralph Cudworth, used scientific, philosophical, and theological history to refute the materialism of Hobbes. Such would-be-scientific historians as Bolingbroke, Hume, and the French writers of *l'histoire raisonnée*, seemed able to turn descriptive historical propositions, by devious sleight-of-hand, into propositions with an evaluative or prescriptive (and usually ethical) form, and there are today several historians of the sciences who seem to be bent on committing the same fallacy.

Then there is the Machian fallacy, with which Collingwood seems to have concurred, that to understand a science it is first necessary to become acquainted with its history. Even Hegel could see that, however much philosophers used the history of philosophy for their mental development, it was none the less external to philosophy. Mach's style of "historical" presentation is harmless only if the historical reader refuses to be persuaded to make the past look so much like the present and only if the scientist refuses to allow outmoded and inconsistent doctrines to obscure what can be reasonably supposed relevant. As for the precept that one should put oneself, as far as possible, in the minds of the men of whom one is writing, this surely applies to every historian, and not only historians of ideas. It does not entail any one way of *writing* history, and certainly does not entail the "I was there" style, which has its own dangers; for the Galens, the Galileos, and the Gausses of the past faced scientific problems, whereas our problems are textual, palaeographic, linguistic, and historiographic. That much abused species, the professional scientist turned historian, is perhaps most abused when he fails to see the difference.

And yet even more problematical is the philosopher. The liaison between the philosopher and the historian of science has traditionally been strong: natural philosophy, after all, was once the staple of philosophy as a whole. It is not unknown in England for posts ostensibly in the "history and philosophy of science" to be filled without a single philosopher on the appointing board. Such attempts to break with philosophy are objectionable for the simple reason that there are many perfectly legitimate questions which the historian may ask which require a partly philosophical treatment. He may ask about the uses, the status, and the criteria for acceptance, of scientific laws, principles, and procedures in some historical situation. Leaving aside the debate whether a philosopher writing on scientific methodology need ever go outside make-believe examples, there is no doubt that many who call themselves philosophers do pose problems in connexion with current science corresponding to the historical problems I mentioned. The solutions will be different in many ways, but the methods of reaching them will have much in common, and it will be a sad day when the existing barrier between history and philosophy, which many purblind and irresponsible academics are erecting as fast as their impaired vision permits, finally becomes impassable.

It is my impression that when historians who now write about science tie themselves to a philosophical school, it is usually unwittingly, which was certainly less true in the time of Ernst Mach and Pierre Duhem. It is difficult to assess what effect such a tie has on style. How much of Mach's positivism is revealed in his stolid "new textbooks for old" style is hard to say. It is often suggested that positivism, as Mommsen's guiding principle of historiography, fostered an excellence in the control of minutiae which helped to make him the foremost classical historian of his time, even though he was exhausted by the minutiae before the time had come for the grand synthesis he had in mind. Duhem, too, wrote at great length (especially on physical and cosmological thought from antiquity to the Renaissance), but his bias was too marked, and his syntheses were made without enough attention to the details, so that his works fill the reader with excitement of the sort to be had from standing inside an elegant building on the point of collapse. (And having mentioned Mommsen and Duhem together, it is hard to avoid recalling a touch of irrationality in both: Mommsen loathed the Gauls, and Duhem looked down on everyone else.)

Expertise in handling primary materials is obviously important to all historians, whether of ideas or of anything else, but it cannot alone ensure the requisite sympathy with the period. What can happen when a writer lacks both qualities has been revealed by Abraham Sachs, to take a single example, in connexion with Velikovsky's imaginative and highly popular excursions into cuneiform texts. ("Wrong century, wrong country, wrong king, wrong sea.") When only the expertise is there, the distortion is harder to prove. It seems to me that the "philo… cal" historian tends to be the most lacking in sympathy with… in whose disembodied ideas he… This is often because he speaks of ideas in the same way as… philosophers spoke of Re… namely as something with an… ence and a history independ… the individual thinker. There… several notable writers in th… between the two world wars, of… I may name A. N. Whitehead, E… Burtt, Hélène Metzger, Emile Me… son, Alexandre Koyré, and R. Collingwood.

Inasmuch as historians of… tend to jump from century to… tury, they are likewise liable to… a similarly unsympathetic view… past, but they are unlikely to… the philosophical historian's de… mination to cram the past into… categories. Collingwood's his… are blatant examples of this… categories are very much those… he had successively learnt… taught in the Oxford Lit. Hu… School. Whitehead went one be… and offered a few of his own… however, shared one decided vir… they actively used their own pow… of reasoning in ways apparently… known to so many of those who… gage only in making rebarbative… pilations of "positive" scie… knowledge.

The ideologies of idea historians

Philosophical historians are… the only propagandists. In the p… you could write history to the g… of God, and no one questioned y… motives, for your readers were… your side. It is not easy to detect… common creed, philosophical, so… logical, or otherwise, within the… tory of ideas. Perhaps, as in the… tory of science, we should be look… for less idealistic springs—a… city, a century, or the subject… which the writer, proud of his i… lectual pedigree, was himself… tured—to find the true object… modern hosannas. Or perhaps… vision is too grand and too imp… sionistic for it to be easily seen… in Burckhardt's *Civilisation of… Renaissance in Italy*, in which… Quattrocento meant not only a br… with the Middle Ages, but noth… less than the birth of mod… Europe. He almost entirely o… looked the nascent science, but… matter. The Enlightenment idea… progress, which spread from… eighteenth-century search for… Newtonian system covering… human activity, clearly inf… Burckhardt, and well illustr… how a historian may be gu… by ideological currents of… very sort he is studying… idea of progress, incidentally… notorious among historians… science as an infallible stimulus… feelings of guilt. The object is… have regular witch-hunts, looking… "Whig historians". Perhaps it is… a Tory plot, for under certain… cumstances it can be of exactly… same character as the plot which… offends. "Newton is not the intel… tual ancestor of your man, but… mine", and so on.

One of the largest of the id… logically coherent groups of his… ians of ideas, namely those w… a Marxist philosophy, appe… reluctant to lay claim to… title, no doubt because… ideal is nothing but the mater… world reflected by the human m… and translated into forms… thought". (Nothing but!) Even… there have been several not… balanced, sensitive, and consist… Marxist interpretations of scien… Benjamin Farrington's *Gr… Science* was one which reached… unusually wide public, while… very different style Eugenio Gari… writings on humanism and scie… are among the most impressive p… ducts of contemporary Italian sc… larship. The balance is somew… redressed by those who would… to base the whole of past hum… existence on a *minimum* of cru… axioms, but Marxism is not the o… ideology in which you are not fr… to choose the company you keep.

One Marxist historian, J. G. Cr… ther, has made an interesting co… ment on the history of science, whi… he sees as a self-conscious pillar… Establishment, which has since 19… given progressively less attention… the social relations of science, th… strengthening the traditional co… servative theory of dominant int… ests. His sociological explanation…

…just possibly be a piece of bio… …phy in disguise: the social rela… …s of science are said to be con… …versial, and therefore to have …n ignored by historians of science …ing a long period of undisturbed …dy. We have so far had no …gler to tell us that we cannot …ape the destiny to which society …mits us.

I am conscious of the folly of try… …g to relate a "history of ideas", …ch I cannot clearly distinguish …m the rest of history, to the …evements of a group of historians …ose work encompasses, for ex…ple, Akkadian cosmology and the …rphology of Puritan intellectual …ciety, Erasistratan physiology and …e mathematics of Hua Lo-Keng, …ehistoric megalithic monuments …d the structure of DNA. If what …s been written hitherto as the his…ry of science is to be subordinated …some more extensive common…alth, it must be to history as a …ole, and neither to the "history of …eas" nor to the natural sciences. …his is not to argue either against or …r academic autonomy. If the only …torians ever to take the sciences …o their reckoning had been those …thin university departments of …dern history, we should be in a …ry state of ignorance, but this is …t to say that our separation is in…itable, or that it should continue …cept as an administrative conveni…ce. If it has anything to do with …n incompatibility, it is not of sub…ect-matter, but of persons and un…nsiderably inflexible institutions. …hat we most need is not a revival …f the historiography of Humboldt, …ckh, and Droysen, but a visit …om the Hauptmann von Köpenick.

…hn North is Assistant Curator of …e Museum of the History of Science, University of Oxford.

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Norwegianness

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Even without having read the other volumes in this series of nation portraits there can be no doubt that the publishers have been very fortunate in their choice of Ronald Popperwell as the author of the volume on Norway. Writers of books on foreign countries have a difficult task; they should neither describe the country as its own nationals see it nor, ideally, should the picture be determined by the authors' own national terms of reference. In Dr Popperwell's case both the Scylla of the first and the Charybdis of the second may have been particularly dangerous. On the one side there is the tendency noted by the author towards a Norwegian "cult of the national", which means that the "Norwegianness is not simply allowed to be in the air everyone breathes. It has to be brought out and emphasized." On the other there is what a staunch British wartime friend of the Norwegians referred to as "that kindly but nevertheless galling British superiority to foreigners" which is often present in the British attitude towards Norway. Dr Popperwell steers well clear of both pitfalls.

As a literary scholar, the author shows a truly encyclopedic knowledge of the Norwegian arts, and gives perceptive comments on nearly every notable artistic product which has appeared in Norway to date. His compressed but scrupulously factual and balanced account of Norwegian history is impressive also, right up to a note on the conclusion of Norway's negotiations for entry into the Common Market in January of this year. Even the vexing and to most foreigners perplexing dispute over the two Norwegian languages is treated in a way which both camps ought to find satisfactory. Where other non-Norwegians find the dispute ridiculous or at least, as Arnold Toynbee calls it, "a wrong-headed combination of archaism and nationalism", Dr Popperwell finds it "difficult to see how the language battle could be avoided, given the Norwegian historical and linguistic background and the nature of the national renaissance in the nineteenth century"—and of his qualifications for making such a statement there can be no doubt.

Yet even Dr Popperwell cannot be all things to all men. He clearly feels more at home with the literati of Norway than with the average Norwegian of today, and the resulting total picture of Norway may not sufficiently dispel the impression, created by so much of previous British writing about the country and also to some extent reinforced by run-of-the-mill tourist literature, of a somewhat quaint land, nice to visit but not the sort of place one would want to live in. That may well be the case for a lot of people. But the Norwegians obviously want to live there, and not just in order to practise their "cult of the national" or steep themselves in the indigenous arts. Although Dr Popperwell includes the proper references to shipping and the aluminium industry, the country cottage and skiing, there is still missing an adequate impression of Norway as really a "nation of the modern world" which, at least to its own inhabitants, seems to offer a good combination of economic prosperity, a sense of belonging without being engulfed, and the accessibility of wide open spaces not yet overwhelmed by mass civilization.

Even in the chapter promisingly entitled "Aspects of Life" there is nothing which is likely to convey to the reader a feeling of what life in Norway may be like. Five of its thirteen pages are devoted to "The Teetotal Issue" and "Church Affairs", both of which are of some historical interest but hardly very relevant to Norway in the 1970s. Of the remaining eight pages of the chapter, the Monarchy takes three, whereas "Industry and Communications" together get one and a half. Thus there is no sustained attempt to explain the reasons for Norway's economic prosperity which, we are told, includes "an industrial growth rate praised by the *Financial Times*". Admittedly Dr Popperwell states as his intention "to highlight those features of the terrain which are characteristically Norwegian"; but even if he thinks that one consumer society is like another—which is debatable—the ways in which prosperity is achieved often differ considerably.

Regrets at the incompleteness of Dr Popperwell's picture of Norway should not, however, be allowed to obfuscate the very high quality of what the book contains. As a cultural and historical guide to Norway it is a remarkable achievement. And the brief, pointed, ironic but insightful postscript on the Norwegian soul is a real tour de force.

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Among the difficulties involved in writing a short history of Denmark is that of getting the right perspective. Events at certain stages have been so complicated that either the historian must over-simplify, or else he is likely to become so intent on including so many facts that the broader view is obscured. It cannot be denied that Stewart Oakley's *The Story of Denmark* suffers at times from the second fault, especially in his treatment of the emergence of Denmark as a unified state in the early Middle Ages, a time when events were so confusing and alliances and monarchs often so short-lived that they only assume their correct places in a more lengthy and varied account than the present one. One wishes at times for fewer facts, fewer names, so that the story could become clearer. The number of single references in the excellent sixteen-page index is perhaps itself revealing. Compression such as this inevitably results also in loose ends: it is mentioned *en passant* that Norway had been reduced to the status of a Danish province in 1536, but there is no explanation of how this came about or what its significance was. Likewise, there is a reference to N. F. S. Grundtvig's attack on rationalism, though there are no earlier indications of the role rationalism had played in Denmark.

At the same time there are considerable sections of the book where it has been possible to avoid the piling-up of isolated facts, and here the author comes into his own. Feeling able to linger over the Reformation, he clearly brings out Frederik I's ambivalence towards the reformers, and this must be counted one of the most successful parts of the book. Christian IV is competently treated, as is the introduction of absolute rule, though one cannot help wondering if Griffenfeld is not portrayed less sympathetically than he deserves.

The mercantile policies of the seventeenth century emerge clearly and in an understandable fashion (though is Jens Munk's expedition really relevant to a study of this length?) as do the eighteenth-century reforms. Also, Denmark's varied fortunes in the nineteenth century are described in reasonable detail. It is surprising that no mention is made of the state bankruptcy of 1813, but perhaps this is a sign that the author merely sees this as a sensational phase rather than as a significant event. The complicated Schleswig-Holstein problem is deftly treated, as it has been throughout the earlier parts of the book, and the reader is left with at least some understanding of that intractable problem. The twentieth century is well described, and here there seems to be a much clearer line, a greater distinction between wood and trees, than in the early chapters.

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The sugar islands

AUGUSTE TOUSSAINT:

Histoire des îles Mascareignes

345pp. Paris: Berger-Levrault. 50fr.

Archivists, so they say, have no time now to write history. What a loss this implies may be suggested by the long list of books, about his own island and the surrounding ocean, that have flowed from the pen of Auguste Toussaint, archivist of Mauritius for a quarter of a century. Now in retirement, with equal mastery of the English and French literature, he is the first to undertake a combined study of all the Mascarenes. As one follows his dense pages, conviction grows that this timely synthesis springs less from delight in the past—when the Ile de France and Bourbon were occasionally of real world importance, as in the warlike days of Suffren and Decaen and the commercial boom that lay between them—than from passionate anxiety for the future of these prolific and plural societies, with their hair-raising dependence on the sugar market and external finance. His thesis is that "decolonization", with all its benefits (especially those accruing to Réunion as a department of the French Republic), has barely touched the hard realities of colonial status, while the media are beginning to make the poor man proud.

Delivered in the prim toilette of the old-fashioned French textbook, each chapter in five equal sections, with exemplary bibliography and statistical appendix, M Toussaint's polite letter-bomb is well disguised. Its first half, before the islands changed their names (though Réunion became Bourbon again in 1815-48), is no more than a dutiful retracing of well-trodden ground, where the author can nevertheless indulge a caustic judgment at the expense of speculative adventurers and the monetary follies of the metropolis. The get-rich-quick mentality of Port Louis, from which early colonial foundations can seldom be free, seems there to have left a permanent mark; but we learn little in effect about its origins, apart from the corsair armaments, which M Toussaint is too good a patriot to disown. What one chiefly misses here is some account of plantation life, as we have it for the Antilles, but with the difference that a society of resident planters evidently fostered a culture at least as attractive as that of the Brittany from which they mostly came. Why Mauritius remains so French is a question not wholly answered by the absence of any significant British (as opposed to Indian) immigration. On this, the reader will learn more from Raymond d'Unienville's evocation, *Hier Suffrep*, recently published at Port Louis; he has more feeling for the *dolce far niente* of naval officers at leisure—and they were an educated set.

M Toussaint's survey acquires more urgency when he reaches the coolie trade that followed slave emancipation, for here begins to flood that Asian tide which by 1962 was to place the Christians of Mauritius, already a racial complex, in a one-two minority. The French statistics do not distinguish citizens in this way, but the demand for Hindu and Muslim labour continued strong at Réunion till the official ban of 1882. M Toussaint roundly condemns it all, without raising pertinent questions concerning the employability of the former slaves; they receive little but statistical attention at any point. He has a low opinion of the quality of the new "crypto-slaves", and still more of the "sirdars" who made fortunes by contracting for this labour, though it is the short-sighted planters and town capitalists who have to take the blame for the Malthusian situation thereby created. In this context, one gropes in vain for some definition of the business relations between planter and refiner, indeed of the whole network of credit relations which is hinted at, as is the grip of the undifferentiated capitalists on local politics. Meticulous references to levels of prices and crop production provide only a few elements of the economic history which, if all were told, might win sympathy for anybody who has to produce something the world wants from these islands.

Their addiction to monoculture, M Toussaint's chief bugbear, is something that only governments, perhaps, could have restrained. Yet the different systems which have governed Mauritius and Réunion have failed to find any serious addition to sugar, and not for want of trying almost the whole range of tropical produce: Mauritius in fact grows a little tea and the Réunionnais devastated their mountain forest to distil geraniums, which alternate happily with acacias. There is an alarming excursus on the whole range of crop pests; leaving cyclones aside, even the healthy Seychelles are still troubled by the mellitoma borer, successor to the scale insect on the vital coco-trees. The Seychelles, alone in these parts, have a fishing industry worth the name. M Toussaint, who evidently feels that Mauritius should have preserved something of the maritime vocation Labourdonnais laid down for it, has to admit that Capetown possessed superior advantages as an entrepôt, to say nothing of the rise of the East African ports.

If he is necessarily confined to mere notes on Rodrigues and the islets of the archipelago, he never loses sight of the "dark planet" of Madagascar, once a source of food and labour, later the America of emigrants from Réunion, whose leaders exercised a strong influence on the French annexation from 1883. The gravitation of Réunion towards Africa is one of many sharp contrasts with the sister island. Even under a common sovereign they were not on good terms, for Bourbon resented playing manciple to the centre of government and pleasure. It has always had far more "poor Whites", many of them only dispossessed with the rise of sugar and turning to *métayage* after the sudden stop on immigrants from India. One result has been to soften there the racial clashes that complicate life and politics in Mauritius. Such divergences, overlaid since 1815 by two widely different conceptions of empire, stand out clearly and at times poignantly from M Toussaint's double portrait. He deserves to find readers in this country, as he certainly will across the Channel and at home.

Captains bould

MICHAEL STRACHAN and BOIES PENROSE (Editors):

The East India Company Journals of Captain William Keeling and Master Thomas Bonner, 1615-1617

237pp. University of Minnesota Press. London: Oxford University Press. £5.25.

Visitors to Carisbrooke church in the Isle of Wight may have noticed the poetic memorial to Captain William Keeling (1578-1620) erected by his "sorrowing wife", the first verse of which runs:

Fortie and two years in this vessel frail
On the rough seas of life did Keeling saile,
A merchant fortunate, a captain bould,
A courtier gracious, but (alas) not old.

Although nothing is known of his ancestry and early years before he joined the service of the East India Company in 1604, Keeling was clearly a cut above the average sea-captain of his day. A groom of the chamber to King James I, a friend of the Earl of Southampton, he has a modest place in histories of English literature, due to the fact that his ship's company gave performances of *Hamlet* and *Richard II* off Sierra Leone in 1607, and a repeat performance of *Hamlet* at Socotra in 1608. He was described by the Dutch, who met him at the Moluccas in 1609, as "a bold, handsome man, who could speak Arabic and Malay very well". Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador to the Great Moghul, who went with Keeling in the Red Dragon to Surat in 1615, "found him in all things, a reasonable and discreet man", who "did use his own authority with more moderati:n and better judgement and integrity than most men would".

Keeling was an unusually considerate commander of his men in an age when this was often taken as a sign of weakness. He was also a competent navigator and a skilled and experienced merchant—from which we may hazard the guess (though his editors do not) that he may have been employed by the Levant Company before he joined the EIC. He certainly had an unusual knack of getting on with Oriental potentates and pilots at a time when most Europeans disliked and despised them. He was uncommonly uxorious for his day and generation. He tried to smuggle his pregnant wife out to India with him in 1615, being only prevented at the last moment by a very peremptorily-worded order from the Governor of the Company to put her ashore or to face instant dismissal. He reluctantly complied, but noted in his journal: "I received that extremely unkind letter from Sir Thomas Smythe, never obliviable." He was a sick man from dysentery when he returned home in 1617, after a highly successful voyage to Surat, Sumatra, and Bantam. He died three years later as governor of Cowes Castle.

Thomas Bonner, the writer of the other journal published here, was born c 1580 at Leigh-on-Sea, and died at Tiku on July 20, 1616, which explains why the last entry in his journal is dated June 18. This journal is almost entirely limited to recording navigational information, as befitted the competent and conscientious navigator that he clearly was. Keeling's is more informative about persons and places, affording *inter alia* some glimpses of Iskandar Muda, the famous Sultan of Atjeh (1607-1636). There are also some sidelights on shipboard life, although the journal is not so informative on this point as the incomparable narratives of Edward Barlow and Parson Teonge.

Readers familiar with *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625) and with the late Sir William Foster's voluminous works on the EIC will not find anything significantly new in these journals. They are, none the less, a welcome addition to the literature on the English pioneers in Asia. The editing has been most admirably done and the book is beautifully produced, as befits a publication from the James Ford Bell Library at the University of Minnesota. Its consultation is greatly facilitated by a model index and by a detailed map of the whole voyage prepared by James B. Hastie, Master Mariner.

H. A. ENNO VAN GELDER:

Getemperde vrijheid

302pp. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff. 32.50fl.

In *Getemperde vrijheid*, H. A. Enno Van Gelder explores the limits of freedom of religion, the press and education in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century. He shows that the considerable degree of toleration which existed was the result of the lukewarm backing given by the civil authorities to the demands of the Reformed for legislation to curb Catholics and Protestant dissenters, and for the introduction of an effective censorship. Even where laws existed, they were only half-heartedly enforced. But when disputes within the church or the publication of seditious pamphlets were held to endanger the stability of the state, the government did not hesitate to intervene. Throughout, the author draws stimulating comparisons with the situation in contemporary England.

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Paper tigers

HARLES WINTOUR:

ressures on the Press

pp. André Deutsch. £3.50.

n Editor looks at Fleet Street" e subtitle. It is as well to keep is in mind. The press in Britain, d probably in most other coun- es, is not the homogeneous, tightly- it force its critics like to portray. is is particularly true where pres- res are concerned. They are very ferent in London from those in e Provinces.

Charles Wintour has been editor The Evening Standard for thir- n years. He has been at the tre, and observed pressures— itical, industrial, financial, legal their most concentrated forms. writes frankly and sensibly. He s, however, to make too much of pressure of editing in itself. It true that in far quieter days Lord rley said, "Though journalism y kill a man, it quickens his life ile it lasts." Yet it is likely that en in these more trying and turbu- t times the editors who have suc- mbed to the strain would have ne so in other professions.

Surgeons, judges, statesmen, and ers have as great, or greater, res- nsibilities, with more grievous con- uences of error. One does not hear their repining. Many work well o their eighth decade. Editing is intensive, decision-demanding, nd-the-clock task, it is true. It ers many satisfactions. It should ily be coped with. It should not dramatized. Mr Wintour's typical y may look impressive to an outsider. Many of the decisions he made will have been almost unconscious judgments acquired by long experience. (The only oddity was asking the Circulation Manager's views on which of two stories should lead the paper.)

This does not lessen the value of his book. The pressures dealt with in his first chapter are the least important. They are largely self-made. It is the multiplying external pressures that must concern those who know that freedom of information and of comment are essential to liberty.

Some pressures are not as great as they once were. The public has by now largely taught the owners their lesson. Political pressures today are easier to withstand. They have become more diffused. Politicians have to cope with television and radio as well as with newspapers. Their attack has become fragmented. Hence the liking of some of them for an over-lording body which would be sympathetic to their grievances, if not impose their will.

The legal penalties have increased in degree rather than in kind. The situation is still unsatisfactory; it could be worse. It is in the nature of lawyers to hanker after restriction and secrecy: the new generation of judges is more aware than some of its predecessors of the benefits to society of a free-ranging, public-spirited press. The pressure of advertisers has been overrated. Instances can be cited. They are exceptional. They are not subtle. Firmly faced, they generally collapse.

The newest pressures on editors are the most serious. Although the suggestions recently made that workers on newspapers should seek to influence the papers' contents were quickly disowned by some political leaders, there is no doubt that the desire remains. The demands of some journalists that policy should be decided by an editorial committee are also dangerous. The power of small groups of staff to disrupt production, and the frequency with which they are doing so, threaten the continuance of some newspapers. Whatever the costs of disclosure, editors should fully inform their readers of what is happening. They would not wrap up news of this kind of action in vague generalities if it occurred in any industry other than their own.

This coyness of editors about their difficulties in the past has been partly responsible for their present plight. It has also led readers to realize that the press is not as frank and fearless as it makes itself out to be. Mr Wintour takes editors to task for their weakness vis-à-vis the Breach of Privileges Committee, the Official Secrets Act, D Notices, and the lottery of libel actions. The damage caused by such culpability has not been as great as that suffered by their having one standard of reporting for their own affairs and another for everyone else's.

Even so, it would be wrong to end on a sour note. "The newspaper industry", Mr Wintour says, "even if it is not particularly successful in terms of the balance sheet, has much to be proud of." This can be accepted, so long as it is realized there is plenty of room for improvement.

Gliberalism on the box

ILIP ELLIOTT:

e Making of a Television Series A Case Study in the Sociology of ulture

pp. Constable. £2.

is study from the Leicester Uni- sity Centre for Mass Communi- tions Research is about the limi- tions of a visual medium catering r a mass audience in treating rious and complex issues. It is so about the subcultural soil in hich grows the liberal consensus rrently dominating the medium.

Philip Elliott does not set out this ms quite so explicitly, perhaps cause he shares the assumptions f the media personnel, perhaps so because of a certain coolness wards critical research, noted by D. Halloran in his introduction. n even if one shares in the pro- essive consensus and thinks it the st we have, one is bound to be cerned by this documentation how haphazardly material is col- cted for presentation on matters public concern.

In the particular group of pro- mmes studied the theme was the ure of prejudice. Essentially, the ject was prejudged from the start the producer in terms of certain ry vague notions about it in his n mind, and in terms of contem- rary relevance. Thus his own or judgment that class and religi- s prejudice had been substantially ded resulted in the relative lack concern with these aspects. In the ual presentation variety, im- es and a certain notion of balance" were the determining teria, and what was used and who s contacted was very much a func- of the material currently avail- le in the press and of a network of sonal acquaintances.

Thus with regard to the research ployed there was a premium on hat was immediately being publi- ed. In using material, some of e research was drastically simpli- ed to the point where the academic cerned thought his work had en reduced to a gimmick. (His mments to this effect were edited t.) Television personnel clearly o not—and cannot—study a sub- t, or soak themselves in relevant terial. They pick up floating hints m other media and exchange s with the human floaters who e the characteristic denizens of e media. This approach is employed because any serious discussion is too extended for media purposes. What is needed and desired is the clash of opinion, sharply and quickly focused, and presided over by a professional master of opinions, utilizing certain conventional modes of pejorative association—e g, comparisons with Hitler and Fascism. Disapproved comment is dealt with by setting disconfirming images alongside the verbal statement, raising the rate of interruption and setting the person concerned in a context defining him as an object of disapproval rather than an objective commentator. Those defined as objective commentators are drawn from the liberal academia, which is fairly continuous with the subculture of the media personnel themselves.

Naturally enough, to query the assumptions of this subculture would elicit a defence based on the notion that criticism of "the Establishment" was a crucial function of the media. Thus the theme of countering the establishment is used to hide the established character of the opinions promoted. Not indeed that those opinions necessarily convert the masses: the prejudiced proletarian continues to see Alf Garnett as a rough diamond. This is the "boomerang effect" to which Mr Elliott refers. And the academic continues to query almost everything he sees: from the left, typically, because the handling of industrial disputes seems to have a managerial bias, from the right because the area of "culture" is given over to trendies of various kinds. But both sides recognize the media personnel involved since they have links with academia and yet are deprived of the constraints which act as partial controls in the academic milieu or in serious journalism.

The Making of a Television Series mentions that the cameramen tended to view the production team as university graduates with little idea what else to do. The fluid, disorganized nature of the media certainly attracts fluid, disorganized personalities and jackdaw minds working ad hoc on their subcultural hunches and perpetuating their views by utilizing a young boy network. A febrile, faintly exquisite, cosmopolitan atmosphere results, in which the participants address each other in the exaggerated terms of endearment characteristic of the theatre. This atmosphere attracts footloose graduates in the humanities, especially perhaps from the higher status universities, so that television eventually becomes a first-name culture, in which brief candles sputter until they are over-exposed and opposition is allowed only in terms of certain well-known "punitive personalities" engaged in displaying their entertaining oddities. Television is thus a subculture attracting the psychic migrants of subcultures and thereby, by a paradox, presenting the views of the liberal middle class. The problem of the resulting consensus of the virtuous is what lies behind this excellent and unemphatic study.

Pioneers of steam

SPIKE MILLIGAN:

The Goon Show Scripts

190pp. Woburn Press. £1.90.

There are nine *Goon Show Scripts* in this first anthology of what the publishers promise will be a series; they start with "The Dreaded Batter Pudding Hurler" of 1954 and end with "The House of Teeth" of 1956. Goon Shows with no funny voices to vitalize the words are a poor introduction to goonery but an excellent mnemonic, and almost every line in these scripts imposes the weird accents of Eccles, Seagoon, Bloodnok and others on anyone reading them. The same, happily, goes for the sound effects which are also included and would be flat indeed if the words didn't bring back the epochal sounds. The scripts themselves are preceded by a dim anthology of Goon press cuttings and by short Milliganesque biographies of the more durable Goon creatures which contain some lovely inventions—e g, the report that Moriarty is now "working under licence as a trainee corpse in Leith Crematorium and hoping to play the lead in *Jesus Christ Superstar*". *The Good Show Scripts* also has lots of contemporary doodles by all three Goons.

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T·L·S

71st Year 24 November 1972 No. 3,690

Viewpoint

BY CLIVE JAMES

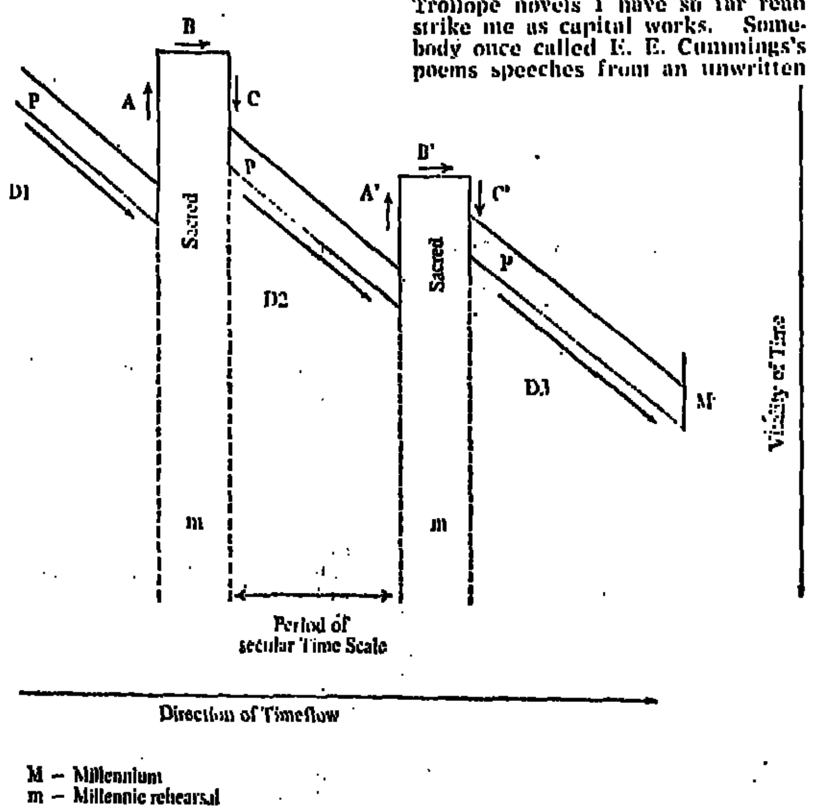
SINCE ATTACKING *Private Eye* on a late-night television show early in the year I have found myself making regular trips to Pseuds' Corner—without passing "Go" and without collecting £200. Before I called it an institution no less comfortably placed than the College of Heralds, *Private Eye* had never heard of me. After I had called it that, suddenly I was as dear to the magazine as Sir Basil Spence. One of the poised visits I have so far paid to the dunce's stool was certainly deserved, a strained phrase receiving its just reward. But otherwise I have been mildly cheesed off at finding sentences from my critical writings rudely jostled among the common run of pin-brained artiness and suave fakery.

Private Eye's crusade against barbarism is decisively nobbled by its own philistinism, and even though its editor undeniably knows how to put one of his own sentences together, it doesn't necessarily follow that he's equipped to criticize one of mine. The general assumption that Pseuds' Corner is somehow the arbiter of what is semantically acceptable simply goes to show that we live in an age of poltroonery. I, for one, will be damned before allowing *Private Eye* to be the measure of anything.

There is a tendency, in this country, for the fashion of the moment to be transformed overnight into an unquestionable institution. This tendency should be resisted with all available resources of scepticism. Nobody mourned the ridiculous *7 Days*. Nobody who was caught up in its spastic tentacles of mismanagement gave a tinker's curse about the demise of *Ink*. I see no reason for a whimper of sympathy now that *Private Eye* has squandered the last of its credibility. The magazine is richer than it was and will probably continue until Doomsday—but let it continue, for heaven's sake, without our respect. For every fact it unearthed, it unleashed an untruth; for every guru it unmasked, it set up a shaman; for every injustice it condemned, it condoned a snobbery. *Private Eye*'s enviable flexibility of stance was always dependent on its having no brains. Now it has disappeared into success, where it belongs.

* * *

Had *Private Eye* possessed the substance of its pretensions—had it not, that is, been, like Alexander Kerensky, outmatched by its historical role—it might have produced at least one truly valuable book, an *Anatomy of Modern Bull*. For certain it is that we live in one of the great epochs of sham. Peter Porter last week was talking about reviewing being worse than it was. I doubt that it is, but am certain that even the worst journalism demonstrates the scrupulousness of the *Philosophical Investigations* when compared to its equivalent level of academicism. In the criticism of films academicism has run rampant, and I have now decided that the nitwits responsible should be called to order. Searching my jumbled library for specimens, I turn up *Roger Corman, the Millennic Vision*, a monograph published by the Edinburgh Film Festival in 1970—a year in which they devoted to Corman one of those comprehensive retrospectives which finally clarify the reasons for a long-standing neglect. On page 21 of this delicious booklet—whose authors I will not name, since there is a statute of limitations even on bug-eyed tomfoolery—appeared the accompanying diagram, purporting to unlock the secrets of a typical Roger Corman movie.



M – Millennium
m – Millennic rehearsal
P – Profane

Place of action of Corman's groups:

Group A :– D2 (sometimes including C or even B)
Group B :– D2 to C' (sometimes with an indication of D3)
Group C : D2 to D3

Never since Vesalius dared to circulate the first anatomical drawing that differed significantly from the dictates of Galen can there have been such a sun-burst of revelation in the learned world. But the illustration was only the beginning. Close upon it came the text. "The graphic representation of Corman's view of the flow of time", it announced, "requires a downward inclination in the profane intervals, and a hypothetical point M, signifying the millennium which must logically follow." If the reader's own profane intervals are already inclining upwards at this point, let him sit quiet on his hypothetical point M and dig what comes a little farther on: "In terms of ritual, phase A(A') is the rite of sacralization, where the moral person, in the Durkheimian sense, is transferred from the profane to the sacred world, involving symbolic death."

In the Durkheimian sense, you might think this was the symbolic kiss-off, and in fact the rest of the pamphlet, while it never rises significantly above this level, at least does not strain its tiny mind with the impossible dream of sinking below it. Once we have finished feeling indulgent towards the disaffected lamebrains who turn this kind of stuff out, though, we should start asking whether the supply of it in the past couple of years has shown any signs of tapering off. To which the answer is—not on your sacralized nelly.

Instrumental in the rise of the semi-intelligentsia has been its paralysing capacity to take over the means of production. A key chapter in the *Anatomy of Modern Bull* would deal with the unprecedented ability of known feather-heads to be printed on the most expensive paper, instead of the least, and to live on a grant instead of in a garret. Your typical recent bull-book is at about thirty annual removes from the skimpy, Authorised-Economy-Standards slim volume of twit poetry published by Tambi in the 1940s: it looks like a Skira edition of the classic postwar period, with a deep cream wrapper, two different coloured types on the title-page, and paper as softly rich as your finger-tips after an hour in the bath.

* * *

Few literary experiences come as a total surprise: we get too much advance warning. When I finally hit the mother lode and can buy enough time to learn Russian, I expect to be overwhelmed by Pushkin but not surprised by him—the calibre of his critical champions tells me too well the order of the experience I am in for. Lately, however, I have had a genuine surprise—discovering the imagination of Trollope.

I had suspected his novels to be dressed-up ledgers, as if he were a proto-Galsworthy. It has been exciting to be faced with the Signora Madeline Neroni in *Barchester Towers*, a grotesque who proves her creator to be a master talent. Despite every scene-dodging lapse and constructional caprice, the Trollope novels I have so far read strike me as capital works. Somebody once called E. E. Cummings's poems speeches from an unwritten play. I suppose Trollope's books are scenes from an unwritten novel—certainly the reader doesn't often feel that the point is made or the story rounded out. But they get you in. They are jumping with the unexpected. I am buying up the old, out-of-print Oxford editions wherever I find them, thankful that I knew next to nothing about the man before I started to read him. In fact I only got on to him because of the guilt engendered by doing a radio interview with Paul Johnson about James Pope-Hennessy's recent critical biography. Feeling compelled to understand something of what I'd just been listening to—an unsettling proportion of which had been said by me—I read a copy of *The Warden* that had been lying around the house for years. The long road to learning is often the surest.

In a letter written from Calcutta in December 1935, and preserved in George Otto Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*, Macaulay casually gives an account of his reading over the previous year. Fasten your seat belts, folks:

> During the last thirteen months I have read Aeschylus twice; Sophocles twice; Euripides once; Pindar twice; Callimachus; Apollonius Rhodius; Quintus Calaber; Theocritus twice; Herodotus; Thucydides; almost all phon's works; almost all Aristotle's *Politics*, and a deal of his *Organon*, besides ping elsewhere in him; the of Plutarch's *Lives*; about Lucian; two or three Athenaeus; Plautus Terence twice; Lucretius Catullus; Tibullus; Prope Livy; Velleius Paterculus; lust; Caesar; and, lastly, I have, indeed, still a Cicero left; but I shall fin in a few days. I am now Aristophanes and Lucian.

Now that our jaw has dropped open, Trevelyan makes sure it that way by inserting a His gloss runs thus:

> That the enormous list of cal works recorded in the going letter was not only through, but read with care, proved by the pencil marks, double, and treble, which down the margin of such as excited the admiration of student; and by the literary, historical, and cal, with which the critic has spersed every volume, and times every page. In the a favourite writer, Macaulay quently corrects the errors of press, and even the as minutely as if he were a book for another edition. He Plautus, Terence, and phanes four times through at cutta; and Euripides thrice.

It is at moments like this th begin to regret (well, to go on ting) those youthful years dered on memorizing the of *Flight* magazine—every disfigured by pencil marks, double, and treble, meandering the margin of such passages excited my admiration. envy for the contents of head tempts me to abandon Number One critical principle—judge contemporary work on merits—and declare outright Corman's *Attack of the Monsters* cannot possibly be good. But steady on, old son. been spoken of highly by people have seen it thrice.

Duckworth books

Harriet Said...
by Beryl Bainbridge

'... a sharp, chilling short novel about a suppressed lesbian relationship leading to violence ... The ending has a real shock effect.'
Julian Symons, *Sunday Times*

'... a thoroughly enjoyable horror experience. It is very seldom that writers of intelligence and imagination lend their talents to a really good horror story, and this one could scarcely be bettered for the accuracy of its observations and the maintenance of tension.'
Auberon Waugh, *Spectator*

'... an extremely original and disconcerting story ... Miss Bainbridge's imagination is dark, her landscapes reek and threaten, and her images smell of corruption.'
David Benedictus, *Daily Telegraph*

'... lightly written, full of spiky thoughts and unexpected pockets of exactly reproduced feeling ... a very good first novel indeed.'
Times Literary Supplement

'Miss Bainbridge has this terrific visual sense—as sure an eye for the physical as the metaphysical.'
Valentine Cunningham, *Listener*

Duckworth books

Hazlitt the revolutionist

ALPH M. WARDLE:
Hazlitt
pp. University of Nebraska
ress. $15.

RALPH M. WARDLE's claims for his new biography of William Hazlitt are modest, and his achievements are equally so. He goes through Hazlitt's writings in a chronological progress; he quotes passages of this and of that; he makes his own comments from time to time, raises an eyebrow or makes a guarded aside; he fills in a few episodes—notably the sad episode of Sally Walker—with the findings of recent research or with small discoveries of his own; and he rounds all off with a final chapter of undemanding assessment: "There was something about William Hazlitt and his work that the world would not willingly let die."

What this "something" was the reader is left to speculate on, for Professor Wardle has scarcely offered any unitary analytic theme. The nearest he comes to this is in offering some kind of low-pressured psychological clue: young Hazlitt, from the age of nine, suffered from the lack of a sense of security—he had been moved around too much, from place to place, as a child. From this stems his brooding self-exposure, his courageously confessional sensibility, his desire for reassurance, his irritability.

But the clue seems, in the end, only to diminish the man. Here is a large book about a very versatile journalist, who wrote a few essays which Professor Wardle allows to have been very good indeed, and a great quantity of literary, artistic, dramatic and political criticism which (it would seem) was pretty good, but was vitiated by faults of "prejudice" or haste or over-ornamentation or waywardness and aggressiveness, who quarrelled with a large part of his acquaintance, and who was not only a duffer as a lover (which most men are on occasion, and writers as often as any) but had the bad judgment to publish the fact to the world and the bad taste to blame the girl who precipitated his folly. The unprepared reader, meeting William Hazlitt for the first time in these pages, might well lay the book down wondering whether "the world" had not been over-officious in keeping the man's memory alive.

As a contribution to scholarship this biography is all very well. Hazlitt himself would have preferred the old *Life* by P. P. Howe (who shared some of his own "prejudices"), and Herschel Baker's *William Hazlitt* (1962) is both more ambitious and more successful in placing the writer within his times. It remains, without qualification, the better book. But Ralph Wardle will be useful to Eng Lit students—the chronological arrangement is such that they can quickly find out what Hazlitt was writing, and when, with perhaps a footnote leading on to a further article in *MLN* or *PMLA*.

They will find it less useful if they are alert to any larger questions of value and interpretation. Professor Wardle warns in his preface that he has paid attention to the historical background or to Hazlitt's associates "only when it seemed essential to my primary purpose of understanding the man himself". And it did not often so seem. There is an interesting and lively chapter on Hazlitt's crotchety, honest, uncompromising father in search of a Dissenting pulpit in America; but the intellectual community of English Dissent (and the place within this of Hackney College) is much more sketchily presented. Thereafter serious contextual placing of Hazlitt's thought (and against *whom* he was polemicizing) becomes thinner and thinner. The French Revolution appears not as an exfoliating complexity, demanding repeated adjustments of response, but as a familiar Eng Lit idée ("with France wallowing in the Reign of Terror"). There is no serious attempt to grapple with the problem of why, from boyhood until death, Hazlitt found it to be so critically important to probe the philosophical area of "benevolence and self-love", in an attempt to dissociate himself from Godwinism and Utilitarianism while not surrendering (like Coleridge and Wordsworth) to a conservative religiosity.

There is little analysis of painting or the theatre in Hazlitt's time, why sides were being taken, and which side Hazlitt was on. Nor does Professor Wardle help the reader by ing some of the essentials of the literary scene in the war and postwar years: which papers were subsidized, which audience they addressed, why Hazlitt (who had plenty of allies among the populist radicals like William Hone) found himself uncomfortable alongside the "Scotch feelosophy" and middle-class political economy of the radical *Edinburgh Review*, which remained, nevertheless, the only "quality" (and well-paying) quarterly to which he could gain regular admission. In the absence of context, so much else must appear fortuitous, episodic, a matter of "prejudice" or irritability; we can neither understand why young John Keats responded so ardently to Hazlitt, nor why the running battle between Hazlitt and Coleridge and Southey was something a good deal more serious and principled than a matter of spleen.

Professor Wardle knows better. He has written a life of Mary Wollstonecraft which treats her political and social ideas as serious matters. But in *Hazlitt* he seems to have given way to the nonsense still found in some Eng Lit circles—that one can discuss a man's thought (as style, or as psychology, or as sensibility) without establishing what this thought was about. The reader is introduced neither to the ebullience of postwar popular reform, nor to its repression (and the active assent which the Lake Poets gave to the repression). It was in the aftermath of that repression (in 1821) that Hazlitt wrote his essay "On Consistency of Opinion"; any man, he allowed, might on proper grounds change his opinions, but, in doing so, he need not "pass an act of attainder on all his thoughts, hopes, wishes, from youth upwards, to offer them at the shrine of matured servility: he need not become one vile antithesis, a living and ignominious satire on himself". But such a style is altogether too punchy for Professor Wardle. Of this, and the companion essay "On the Spirit of Partisanship", he writes:

> He wrote not in his usual Table Talk strain, enlivening his points with anecdotes; the bitterness of his old political essays revived, and he seemed more to scold his readers than to entertain them. The fun had suddenly been drained out of the essays.

And for this he finds a reason ready to hand. Sally Walker had transferred her flirtatious attentions to a young man named Tomkins.

One must enter a protest against this trivialization of Hazlitt's profound political commitment. This commitment, which informed all his manifold critical writings, was a central organizing principle throughout his life. It was a commitment which was never windy or doctrinaire, but remained lithe, alert, self-critical, even at times quizzical or nostalgic, but always utterly beyond reach of purchase, capitulation, or apostacy. It was a commitment which endured through repeated defeats, betrayals of principle by his own "side", the default of his friends and teachers, the blunders and posturing of his fellow reformers; it was not a commitment which brought Hazlitt reputation, or money, or even "fun", and in its very mode of expression—the insouciance of a courageous, isolated, and cornered man—one senses the sadness of that endurance.

It was also about something real. His editor, John Hunt, was twice imprisoned. His friend, William Hone, was subjected to three State Trials. Peterloo did occur. The Pentridge and Cato Street men did go to the gallows. And at each real issue, point by point, Hazlitt's former idols took the side of "Legitimacy" against "the people". This was not something which happened in some rarified element, the "history of ideas". "The personalities I have fallen into have never been gratuitous", Hazlitt wrote towards the end of his life. "If I have sacrificed my friends, it has always been to a theory."

The political theory of William Hazlitt is still imperfectly understood, and when it is at length appreciated perhaps we will learn why the "world" has been reluctant to let his work die. After his early philosophical essay, *Principles of Human Action*, he eschewed system; his running responses—to political events, to Malthus, to Bentham and to Robert Owen, to orthodox political economy—have consistency, but one can deduce the incorruptible core only by taking bearings upon it from the circumference of seemingly empirical judgments. Roy Park has offered such a reconstruction of the core of Hazlitt's philosophical and aesthetic belief in *Hazlitt and the Spirit of the Age* (1971), and a complementary reconstruction of Hazlitt's polemical political heart (which might modify some of Mr Park's conclusions) is called for. But no critic or biographer will be competent to handle this thought if he is bemused by the notion that historical judgment consists in balancing the good on all sides of the question. It was exactly this blurring of issues in the name of good taste, this confusion of the epiphenomena of social and personal life with the deeper thrusts of power and of interest, which made Hazlitt reach for his most polemical pen. In his character of Wilberforce he was enraged by his "moral equivocation", which "winds and undulates, and glides up and down on texts of Scriptures and scraps from Paley, and trite sophistry, and pathetic appeals to his hearers in a faltering, inprogressive, side-long way ...".

Professor Wardle is pained by Hazlitt's characters of Canning and of Lord Eldon: "His violent anti-Tory prejudice blinded him to their merits." This is a possible view, although it might with equal force be held that both characters are brilliantly drawn and that the second is unusually well-organized and condensed. But if Professor Wardle is to make these extra-literary judgments, he should go farther and tell us more about what Canning's and Lord Eldon's merits were; and, moreover, why these merits should appeal to his subject, who was implacably opposed to Canning's diplomacy and whose friends had suffered under Eldon's genial repression. But Professor Wardle would have preferred Hazlitt if he had been a more ambivalent, moderate Liberal. He finds the *Political Essays* (published in the year of Peterloo) "indiscretions", and he walks with the flattest of critical feet around *The Spirit of the Age*: "He had to strain hard to find any good in a Tory, especially a Tory convert, and his estimates of many of his subjects were clouded by prejudice":

> "Mental courage", wrote Hazlitt, is the only courage I pretend to. I dare venture an opinion where few else would, particularly if I think it right. I have retracted few of my opinions. Whether this arises from obstinacy or strength or indifference to the opinions of others, I know not. In little else I have the spirit of martyrdom: but I would give up any thing sooner than an abstract proposition.

These are not characteristics to make a writer well-loved; as a reviewer in *Blackwood's* remarked, "He stands with his back turned on the whole writing world, and need not therefore be surprised to get an occasional kick or two."

This is, of course, an understatement: Hazlitt was being kicked for most of his writing life. Since he described himself as "a Revolutionist", he no doubt preferred this kicking to being condescended to, apologized for, or explained away. He may, perhaps, have had himself also in mind when he concluded his character of Sir Francis Burdett, who

> has often been left, in a minority in the House of Commons, with only one or two on his side. We suspect, unfortunately for his country, that History will be found to enter its protest on the same side of the question!

While History has not proved to be as single-minded as that, on a hundred issues Hazlitt, almost alone in his time, and with an extraordinary sureness of touch, anticipated judgments which at least some historians and critics have come to endorse. This suggests a man of greater stature, intellectual coherence, and generosity of sensibility than has been offered to us by his latest biographer.

P. D. James
An Unsuitable Job for a Woman
"One of the most compulsive and acutely observed thrillers of the year."
—*Peter Grosvenor, Daily Express.*
"A very ingenious, absorbing detective story of star quality."
—*Andrew Hope, Evening Standard.*
"Superior writing and excellent characterisations of contemporary university youth."
—*Maurice Richardson, The Observer.*
"One of those crime novelists who deliver not merely an intriguing puzzle but also offer an impressive narrative skill, characterisation and background atmosphere as well."
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—*H. Montgomery Hyde, BBC Northern Ireland.*
With 8 pages of plates and 2 maps. £3

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The destruction of a city
by Marjorie Housepian
"Miss Housepian, an Armenian herself, has written a vigorous but restrained account and gathered particularly valuable fresh information from witnesses who survived. She raises profound issues of historiography and diplomatic morality in her final chapter."
—*Campbell Page, The Guardian.*
£3·50

Black Marsden
by Wilson Harris
"For the first time he has turned from themes inspired by his native Guyana, and has treated Edinburgh to his own peculiar mixture of psychic fantasy and intellectual speculation. I found the result enthralling."
—*Paddy Kitchen, The Scotsman.*
£1·80

Wintering Out
by Seamus Heaney
A new volume of poems by Seamus Heaney. Although he is now back in his native Northern Ireland, he recently spent a year in California; and *Wintering Out* reflects this in a noticeable widening of his poetic landscapes.
£1

FABER & FABER

Commentary

The History of Ideas is one of a number of names applicable to a particular way of doing History; common substitutes are Culture History, the History of Civilization or Intellectual History. We have ourselves preferred the History of Ideas as the title for this special number of the *TLS* because it seems to criticize as well as to extend the notion of History as it is still frequently taught and thought about. The History we are used to may not be without ideas, but it is so crowded with significant people and events that thought can seldom be kept separate from action. The History of Ideas is a good corrective to what in France they now talk about as "l'histoire événementielle".

The prospect it offers is not exactly the contradictory one of a History without events, but of a History which brings with it a fresh definition of the word "event". Things happen in cultural or intellectual life, even if less abruptly and with less immediate resonance than in political or military life, and the historian of ideas is right to try and fit them together in some satisfying constellation. For some tastes, such History will always be too speculative and, in extreme cases, mystical, offensive as it is to the prevailing nominalism. But for the uncommitted it offers an invigorating chance of reconstructing the past in its private as well as its public dimensions. If the History of Ideas one day flourishes, as it ought to, it will provide a valuable distraction from the relentlessly chronological sequences of historical "facts".

* * *

Historiography is one academic pursuit with a public outside the universities and this public may, as our reviewer remarks on another page, be a guarantee of its future, should historians themselves ever lose faith in it. The writing of history has traditionally been seen as a literary practice rather than a technical one and, however energetically some contemporary historians try to render their publications unreadable by the world at large, there will surely remain a strong literary element in the more accessible historical works. It is fitting, therefore, that the Wolfson Foundation should this week have awarded two extremely generous cash prizes for historical publications, of the kind usually reserved for novelists and avowedly more "creative" writers.

The Foundation's senior prize—of £5,000—is "for an established historian who has published important work since January 1, 1971, and whose work over the years the Foundation wishes to distinguish". This has been given to the military historian Michael Howard, who at the beginning of this year published *Grand Strategy*, a volume in the official history of the Second World War. The Foundation's second prize, of £3,000, is "for an historical work published since January 1, 1971, which it considers has made a most important contribution to the understanding of history". It has given this prize to another Oxford historian, Keith Thomas, for his book *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, which is described elsewhere in this issue by Christopher Hill as "perhaps the most important contribution to our understanding of English cultural history, and indeed English history *tout court*, published in the past generation".

* * *

It has been a lucrative fortnight, too, for John Berger, whose last novel, *G.*, has won not only *The Guardian* fiction prize of 200 guineas but the Booker Prize also, which is worth £5,000. W. L. Webb, the spokesman for *The Guardian* panel of judges, having expressed some fond anxieties about the ugly corner the novel has got into recently, went on to praise Mr Berger's "range of vision and resources of unfamiliar energy", which "seemed to be forcing a way out of the corner—knocking a few bricks out certainly, and letting in the light of new possibilities". The *TLS* front-page review of Mr Berger's novel (June 9) took a similar line, if a rather more cautious one:

> When *G* was still a work in progress, Mr Berger remarked of it: "I do not know whether it will eventually be categorized as an description of a dream." . . . At a essay, a novel, a treatise, or the time when the traditional boundaries of fact and fiction, of imagination and intellect, are in a state of flux, no one is better equipped than he to lay minefields across the borders, to cancel the poet's proverbial licence and to pluck the authorial eye (and "I") from a privileged anonymity. *G* is a work which raises questions of great critical interest. It does not, however, always succeed in fashioning convincing connexions, whether causal or structural.

But *G* was near enough to fiction for *The Guardian*, and the Booker judges seem to have been adequately convinced by Mr Berger's causal and structural connexions.

* * *

Last week the British Irish Association held its inaugural meeting; F. S. L. Lyons and David Wilson are co-chairmen, and Lady Dufferin, John Vaizey and Robert Kee are also on the board. The Association's general aim is to improve "relations between the peoples of Great Britain and Ireland", and while it has various projects of its own it hopes also to act as a clearing-house for independent projects, giving information and assistance to other bodies and streamlining the existing machinery for intercourse between the two countries. The organization has no political line; its activities will be exclusively in the academic, cultural and social spheres.

At present, no channel exists for academic exchanges between Britain and Ireland. There is no independent body and the British Council, surprisingly, does not include the republic among the countries for which it provides exchange grants. To fill this gap the Association intends to arrange postgraduate scholarships, either by direct subsidy or on a reciprocal basis. Also, it will organize lectures and seminars, in which Irish scholars and intellectuals can participate.

Another cultural gap has recently been filled by the Association: as a result of its lobbying Ireland will now be included in the Fanfare for Europe programme. With [illegible] support from both Dublin and Belfast, the Association itself intends to promote cultural activities in the form of an Irish Week, which will feature Irish plays, films, concerts, exhibitions and poetry readings, and is to be launched early next year.

The Association has already had some success at encouraging social contact, with its Belfast "holiday scheme". A group of sixteen Catholic and Protestant children was brought over in September for a fortnight's holiday with eight families in the Cambridge area. While putting the scheme through it was discovered that there had been no less than 126 similar projects launched by public and private bodies this summer—with varying degrees of success—and the Association considers that it could play a useful role here by helping to co-ordinate them. In addition, there will be an annual conference, along the lines of the Anglo-German Königswinter, in which politicians, academics and journalists from both countries will meet to discuss topical aspects of British-Irish relations. The first of these will be held at Magdalene College, Cambridge, on March 30-April 1, with the tentative title, "Britain and Ireland: Understanding and Misunderstanding".

The Association has about sixty founder members and needs about as many more; subscriptions for founder members are £10-£100, and £2.50 for ordinary members. All donations—and any suggestions—would be welcomed and should be sent to Nick Stadlen, The Secretary, Munro House, 9 Poland Street, London, W1.

Goodness was not enough

The Autobiography of Terence O'Neill

160pp. Hart-Davis. £2.25.

TONY GRAY:

The Orange Order

292pp. Bodley Head. £2.50.

Lord O'Neill of the Maine was, as Captain Terence O'Neill, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland from March 1963 until April 1969. When he assumed office the province enjoyed tranquillity. The IRA had recently abandoned its futile border offensive which had been spluttering on since 1956. Economic conditions in the province were improving. The new Prime Minister enjoyed excellent relations with ministers and civil servants at Westminster. He was a good "ambassador" abroad for Ulster, at his best with industrialists who might be interested in establishing plant in the province. He discerned the flaw in Ulster society, and saw that without the transformation of its community relations it had no secure future as "the only part of Ireland to enjoy a British standard of living". He won approval among Roman Catholics both north and south of the border to a degree unmatched by any predecessor in his office. Yet, when Captain O'Neill resigned, the condition of Ulster was one of political embitterment, movement towards extremes, and the imminence of communal violence on a scale that proved to be uncontrollable by the forces at the disposal of the provincial government. What went wrong?

The Autobiography of Terence O'Neill helps little towards an answer to that question either in its disclosure of hitherto unpublished information (there is almost none), or in its analysis of the political developments over which he presided (the analysis is thin). But the memoir is of assistance in revealing a good deal about the man who was in a better position than anyone else to influence the course of events in those years. Not that he is an introspective or confessional autobiographer—far from it. But, being written without artifice, the book imparts more than it states about the man who wrote it.

His explanation of the deterioration that occurred during his term of office is a mixture of fatalism and simple moralism. He writes of his "great personal sorrow that my attempt to bring about reconciliation was wrecked by wicked men, and that I was thereby unable to inaugurate a peaceful solution to this age-old problem". He does not in that passage name the wicked men, but it would appear that he numbers among them a sizable proportion of his ministerial and parliamentary colleagues in the Unionist Party. Elsewhere he concludes that it was the insistence of Belfast Catholics in celebrating in 1966 the fiftieth anniversary of the Easter Rising "which made 1968 [the renewal of communal violence] *inevitable* and was bound to put the whole future of Northern Ireland in the melting pot"; or that it was the unreasonable attitude of extreme Protestants as exemplified in the Paisley marches of 1966 which "made it *inevitable* that the whole future of Stormont would be put at risk"; or that, although the start of the Civil Rights movement (autumn, 1968) jolted the more intelligent Unionists out of the belief that the old order could continue, "*by then it was too late*" (italics added).

Lord O'Neill is severe in his censure of other Ulster politicians, and of none is his censure more severe than of his predecessor Lord Brookeborough, whom he represents as being indolent and narrow-minded, and of his successor but one, Brian Faulkner, whom he represents as being disloyal and disingenuous. Lord O'Neill's free distribution of blame invites examination of his own contribution to the debacle, though it need not be considered in the same moral terms.

He was of sufficient breadth of view and extra-provincial experience to see what was wrong with the political society of Northern Ireland, and to regret what he saw. But he was seriously deficient in the skills which alone would have enabled him to do something effective about it, the skills known as political. And to the lack of skill was joined a lack of will. He reports that he had always intended to retire from the premiership in the autumn of 1969 when he would be fifty-five. By the autumn of 1968 he was thoroughly disheartened. The early civil rights marches with their promise of much worse disturbances to come caused him to conclude that "my policy of trying to improve community relations had received such a severe setback that you could really say it was lying in pieces in the gutter". His inclination was to resign. He received many expressions of opinion from his own public and from political leaders in London that he was the man to see Ulster through. It was these "which forced me to soldier on despite my opinion that I would be unlikely to achieve anything now in the face of the forces which had been unleashed". "Soldiering on" is an expression which describes even more aptly the demeanour of his successor, Major Chichester-Clark, during his tenure of the post. One can understand the relief (even if it was misplaced) felt in high places in Whitehall when Mr Faulkner's turn came. At last they had somebody who actually wanted the job.

Reflecting on his premiership, Lord O'Neill writes: "As the Party would never stand for change, I was really reduced to trying to improve relations between North and South; and in the North itself between the two sections of the community." And so it was that the reforms required to meet the civil grievances of the Roman Catholic minority began to come only in the last months of his premiership and only at the behest of Westminster. All that Lord O'Neill had himself been able to do to treat the disease which he correctly diagnoses was to initiate a series of direct meetings with the Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland for the discussion of functional cooperation between the two parts of the island; to visit Catholic schools and be seen in public with cardinal and nuns; and to make speeches deprecating the ancient and continuing divisions in Ulster society. It does not sound much, and indeed it was too little to control even the amount of movement that it generated, but it would be wrong to belittle what he did. It was a great deal more than any other leading personality in the Unionist Party had been prepared to do; and if proof is required that what O'Neill was doing was not negligible it is to be found in the enmity he earned among the Protestant extremists and the good opinions he won among the Catholic moderates of his own society.

"As the party would never stand for change. . . ." Lord O'Neill's acquiescence in that veto was the flaw in his political career. His memoir gives no account or even hint of any calculating and sustained attempt on his part to create a combination of like-minded men with a view to breaking down the resistance of the party machine, of any attempt to divide or isolate the reactionaries, to outmanoeuvre unscrupulous opponents, to rally liberal opinion in such a manner as to make it politically effective. Not only has the memoir nothing to report from that political front (until O'Neill's last-minute attempt in the general election of March 1969 to pit the "people" against machine politics), but the memoir conveys the impression that any such course of action would have been alien to his conception of his role.

The aspects of his public life which he recounts most fully and recalls with greatest satisfaction are the representational aspects: attendances at World Bank meetings, embassy lunches, banquets with foreign chambers of commerce, promotional Ulster weeks in cities in Great Britain, brief personal encounters with world statesmen. He was right to pay attention to these things, for they were a part of Ulster's remarkably successful methods of attracting industrial investment. On the other hand, one looks in vain for anything other than the most cursory account of social conditions in the province; for an analysis of the balance of political forces, for evidence that he tried to manipulate them, for any sign that he felt it necessary to forge a political alliance capable of shifting the obstacles to the fulfilment of his policies.

Of course, he might have got nowhere by the hand-selling methods of politics, but he could at least have tried. On his brief meeting with the leader of the Canadian Conservative Party he comments: "If ever one of nature's gentlemen strayed into politics, the name of that man is Stanfield." The name of another is O'Neill. "A Good Man Goes" was the title *The Times* gave its leading article on the occasion of Terence O'Neill's resignation. True, but goodness is not enough in those occupying high political office.

The only mention Lord O'Neill makes in his memoirs of the Orange Order, of which he was a member, is of his encounter with it in Newfoundland. He was informed that the Newfoundland Order ran a cancer hospital to which it admitted Roman Catholics: "I have often thought since that if only the Order in Ulster had developed in the same way as the Order in Newfoundland then today's troubles might never have taken place." Tony Gray in *The Orange Order* shows how the Order in Ulster has developed, and assesses its contribution to the present civil breakdown. Published information about the Order is sparse and part of the usefulness of Mr Gray's book is that it makes easily available some of the information contained in earlier histories and the order's official publications, none of which can be easily come by.

Mr Gray bravely tries to overcome his antipathy to the subject of his book to the extent necessary for a fair appraisal. In that he is reasonably successful. He has been less successful in penetrating the Orange Order so as to be able to judge its effect on its members and on the public life of Northern Ireland. The survival, vigour and spread of the Orange Order (there is a lodge in Ghana now wholly black in composition and punctilious in observance) on the apparent basis of historical anachronism and denominational misconception is a phenomenon worthy of study. Mr Gray has a good try at it, but a fully satisfying book on the subject has yet to be written.

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To the Editor

The Strachey Trust

Sir,—In their letter of November 17 Michael Holroyd and Paul Levy say that the Strachey Trust has been registered as a charity under the name "Central Register of Manuscripts". This name is similar to that of the National Register of Archives. The aims of the trust seem to be similar as well. In these circumstances I have been asked to make it clear that the two registers are in fact unconnected.

The National Register of Archives is part of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. It has been engaged for more than twenty-five years in the formation of a union catalogue of historical, and more recently, of literary papers of every date. With the cooperation of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, it has already in existence a computerized index which is completely updated by a new print-out once a year, and partially updated at more frequent intervals. In collaboration with the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other record offices, libraries and agencies throughout the United Kingdom (including in the field of literary manuscripts Scotland) it is actively seeking to extend and elaborate, to whatever extent may prove possible, the information recorded in this register as well as computerized methods of indexing on a uniform basis. This is being done with all possible speed and if the results are still less than complete this is perhaps primarily a reflection of the scale and nature of the problems, and the high cost in trained manpower and effort of any practicable solutions to them yet devised.

The Commission itself, which was established in 1869 by Royal Warrant renewed in 1959, has as another of its central functions the provision of assistance and advice to private owners of papers of every kind in conserving these, and where necessary finding appropriate alternative homes for them in this country. With other interested bodies, it is also actively concerned to achieve more adequate control over the export of modern papers from this country. The latter incidentally involves questions of copyright that the Strachey Trust's proposed solution appears to have left out of account.

The Commission is always glad to cooperate with other bodies working in the same field, and welcomes assistance. There is certainly more than enough work for all. But it would seem important that duplication of effort and expense should so far as possible be avoided, and that the entire concept of a union catalogue should not be undermined by a multiplication of unrelated systems and enterprises, with all the inherent possibilities of ultimate confusion.

G. R. C. DAVIS.
Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1HP.

Sir,—Mr Holroyd's and Mr Levy's Strachey Trust (November 17) is an odd beast. It provides itself with a mandate to undertake what it is set up to prevent, namely, the sale and export of original manuscripts. They write: "The Strachey Trust can help in stopping the export of this country's literary resources *by itself acting as agent for the sale of papers abroad*, providing the rules of the charter are adhered to, and the best possible facsimiles made to be held in Britain." (My italics.) Why not hold on to the papers and sell the facsimiles?

G. B. H. WIGHTMAN.
11 Bramham Gardens, London SW5.

DNB Omissions

Sir,—My proposal of supplements to the decennial volumes of the *DNB* was made because I realized that the total revision of the work would be a financially daunting enterprise, and of course I accept the difficulty of re-building the whole structure. I am delighted, however, to gather from C. H. Roberts's letter (November 17) that the proprietors and editorial staff are considering the possibility of publishing a supplementary volume of people who died in this century. That would be a good start; and I am sure that many of your readers and contributors would—like those of *The Athenaeum* to whom the original *DNB* editors appealed—be happy to suggest names to be considered for inclusion in such a volume.

JANET ADAM SMITH.
57 Lansdowne Road, London, W11.

Sir,—Major Bowen (November 10) is mistaken in thinking that W. G. Grace is not enshrined in the *DNB*. Moreover a rapid glance through the epitome volume showing those who died between 1901 and 1950 indicates that many of his fellow players were also included—e.g, Ranjitsinhji, Jackson, MacLaren, Shrewsbury, Shaw, Stoddart, Steel, Lord Harris, Lord Hawke, Murdoch, Lohmann, Spofforth, Read, Briggs, V. E. Walker and George Anderson. The main omission would thus seem to be Victor Trumper and the players of other sports such as Association Football.

NAPIER COLLYNS.
65 Rusholme Road, London SW15 3LF.

The Paris Peace Conference

Sir,—I am indeed grateful for the generous space you gave to my father's book, *A Memoir of the Paris Peace Conference 1919* (October 27). Miss Sibyl Crowe has already refuted the disparaging reference to Sir Eyre Crowe. My father wrote of him as one of the most distinguished public servants of the time (page xxxix). To anyone who has taken the trouble to read the documents it is evident that Sir Eyre had literary and intellectual capacity of the highest order. Your reviewer now admits that the expression "an intellectual" is troublesome (November 10). Then why use it? I had suspected that the reference to my father as a "liberal intellectual" was intended in a critical sense. He, incidentally, was politically conservative. Sir Eyre Crowe, who was an admirer of Mr Gladstone, is, however, exonerated from the charge of liberalism.

Miss Crowe is also right about Danzig. In the Foreign Office there was no division between the permanent officials and the Political Intelligence Department, several of whom stayed on as permanent members. Sir William Tyrrell was head of the PID. At Paris there was no separate "Foreign Office Delegation". Sir Esme Howard had, before the Conference, sponsored the official Foreign Office advice that Danzig should remain in Germany. At Paris he completely changed his view. When he left for Warsaw he was replaced by Mr Paton from the Intelligence Division of the Admiralty. It was Paton who, on economic grounds, strongly urged the cession of Danzig and the Corridor to Poland. It is true that Sir William Tyrrell endorsed this view as a member of the Polish Commission, but he left Paris before a final decision was reached. Fred Kisch of the War Office (Military Intelligence Directorate) was then the chief British expert on Poland and Russia. Deadlock followed Lloyd George's refusal to accept the report of the Polish Commission. My father, with the assistance of Dr Mezes of the American delegation, was successful in winning the support of Lloyd George for the establishment of Danzig as a free city. Wilson came round to it rather reluctantly. The Americans on the whole were strongly pro-Polish. This is all clearly described in the *Memoir* (page 169). But according to your reviewer those matters of past history are no longer relevant. I hope you will allow me a few general comments.

The editors did I think make it clear that this memoir is in no sense a history of the Conference. Headlam did afterwards, when he was Historical Adviser at the Foreign Office, write a series of memoranda, which cover the whole field—including China. This will we hope be published before long. The present "rather scrappy collection of letters and diary entries" is a small, though perhaps not uninteresting contribution to history in the making. The pressure of work at Paris was intense, especially towards the end, and Headlam confined his comments to those parts of the settlement in which he was himself directly concerned. They were dictated often late at night and with no time for correction.

The title you give to the article and your reviewer's criticism give the impression that Headlam and his colleagues were trying to impose prewar values on a postwar world. Headlam held that boundaries should be drawn according to the wishes of the people concerned, and he strongly opposed the substitution of economic for strategic frontiers. This, for good or for ill, was a new, not a prewar conception. It involved the presumption that there would be free commercial intercourse between nations, great and small, and a League of Nations strong enough to settle disputes and impose disarmament (page 171). Your reviewer points out that the whole thing collapsed within twenty years but concedes that, although outmoded, "some ripples" of this way of thinking still survive. Yes indeed. In spite of other major problems, Russia, Africa, the Far East, some people are still concerned in the building-up of an ordered European system with effective international control.

As early as November, 1918, Headlam, supported by the "eccentric intellectuals" of the Political Intelligence Department, pointed out that the Allies were bound by the pre-armistice agreement to charge reparations only for damage done to civilians. Your reviewer vaguely suggests that he came to disapprove of some clauses of the Treaty but assumes that he belonged to a generation of unrepentant optimists. In fact Headlam insisted that a failure to revise the reparations and war-guilt clauses might well lead to a breakdown of the international system, established at Paris. He did not live to see the rise to power of National Socialism but he warned that if Germany should once more become aggressive the danger would originate in the east rather than on the Rhine. In a memorandum written in February, 1925, he foresaw the possibility of the very circumstances which in 1938 foreshadowed the outbreak of war a year later. The passage is quoted on page xxxv.

The review refers to the blind spots in my father's way of thinking. "The enormous gap was Russia." It entirely ignores the correspondence with Lewis Namier. Headlam, in common with Namier and Fred Kisch, opposed intervention. In this he differed from Rex Leeper (page 37). He held that we should not be unduly influenced by Russian refugees in Paris and should await the possibility of future negotiations. Headlam fully endorsed Namier's views on Eastern Galicia and the Ukraine and, although he had no official status in the matter, succeeded in winning the support of Balfour and Lloyd George. Scarcely a lack of interest.

Now we must look forward to the time when your reviewer will enlighten us on the true causes of the breakdown of a civilization, even though it is no longer worth while to record the thoughts of those who, unknowingly, took part in this dissolution.

For misunderstandings arising from the Introduction I am alone at fault. My mother spoke English fluently and had many English friends before she met my father. She thought that her family would benefit by being brought up bilingually. She, not my aunt, belonged to the chosen group of artists who called themselves "pupils" of Liszt. It reads oddly to be told that he "gave her piano lessons" as a child. But that indeed is the telling of an old story which as your reviewer so poetically put it seems like "a visit to a tomb bedecked with laurels that have faded".

AGNES HEADLAM-MORLEY.
29 St Mary's Road, London SW19.

Our reviewer writes:—On points of fact I can only reply:

(1) that there *was* a Foreign Office section of the British Delegation in Paris commonly referred to as the Foreign Office Delegation, headed by Lord Hardinge;

(2) that Tyrrell, a senior member of this section, was appointed British representative on the Polish Commission, and in this capacity gave official British support to the cession of Danzig to Poland;

(3) that the misgivings or dissent of some individuals (a not uncommon civil service phenomenon) did not affect the official character of this action.

May I add that I knew and admired both Headlam-Morley and Eyre Crowe. To point out that each had qualities which the other had not does not seem to me in the least disparaging.

Wordsworth Remembered

Sir,—May I make a mild protest against your reviewer's wholesale absorption of Wordsworth into a pre or early-Ruskinian world of "Romanticism" (November 10)? "The Romantics", he writes, "can accept the vague and temporary nature of the vision—the 'dim and unremembered sense/Of unknown modes of being' always fades into the prose of everyday. . . ." Unfortunately your reviewer has done some unremembering here: Wordsworth's word is *undetermined*, and he tells us (characteristically) that his brain *worked with* this sense: it is entirely false to the great moral endeavour of *The Prelude* and the experience related and enacted within it to suggest that such a sense of the external and unknown as came to him in the boat episode was allowed to *fade away* into everyday ordinariness. On the contrary it was remembered with exceptional piquancy and vividness: a great work, not only of *The Prelude* but (for example) of "Resolution and Independence", the encounter in which is anything but "inconclusive", is to make precise (or determined) and permanent the moral influence of external Nature, including, most importantly, men beyond the immediate self. Spots of time are more than moments of enlightening vision: they

> with distinct pre-eminence retain
> A renovating virtue, whence, depressed
> By false opinion and contentious thought,
> Or aught of heavier or more deadly weight,
> In trivial occupations, and the round
> Of ordinary intercourse, our minds
> Are nourished and invisibly repaired;
> A virtue, by which pleasure is enhanced,
> That penetrates, enables us to mount,
> When high, more high, and lifts us up when fallen.
> (XII, 209-18, 1850)

Hence Wordsworth's constantly renewed ability to find virtue and strength in things in widest commonalty spread, as at the moment of his "self-dedication":

> The solid mountains shone, bright as the clouds,
> Grain-tinctured, drenched in empyrean light;
> And in the meadows and the lower grounds
> Was all the sweetness of a common dawn—
> Dews, vapours, and the melody of birds,
> And labourers going forth to till the fields.
> (IV, 327-32)

Childe Harold, who could not in fact have read these lines, is not the highest authority on Wordsworth's relationship to his native scenery. And Wordsworth's influence on Ruskin—a subject plainly of great interest which would surely repay careful exploration—is Wordsworth transformed through Ruskin's preconceptions and preoccupations, and should not be confused with Wordsworth.

A. H. GOMME.
Department of English Language and Literature, University of Keele, Keele, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG.

'Sessanta posizioni'

Sir,—I was pleased to see an English critic of *Sessanta posizioni* (November 3) appraising my "English" literary pieces well above the "international" ones; but would like to clarify a couple of "factual" objections raised by your reviewer.

He says that my quotation from F. R. Leavis, "the English novelists are Jane Austen, George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad", "is not quite what Leavis says". But that quotation is exactly the opening sentence of *The Great Tradition*.

Then, strangely enough, "nothing is as strange as the nineteen pages on Viktor Shklovskij. Shklovskij appears to have influenced many Italian critics and creative writers although he has not been translated into Italian. One suspects that most of Signor Arbasino's information has filtered through to Italy by way of the writings of Roman Jakobson". On the contrary, no less than eight books by Shklovskij were available in Italian when I wrote those nineteen pages: *Teoria della prosa; Viaggio sentimentale; Zoo, o lettere non d'amore; Il punteggio d'Amburgo; La mossa del cavallo; Majakovskij; C'era una volta; Lettura del Decameron.*

My information came from those eight books and from conversations with the delightful Viktor Shklovskij himself. From Roman Jakobson's books and conversation I should honestly say I mainly derived information about Roman Jakobson.

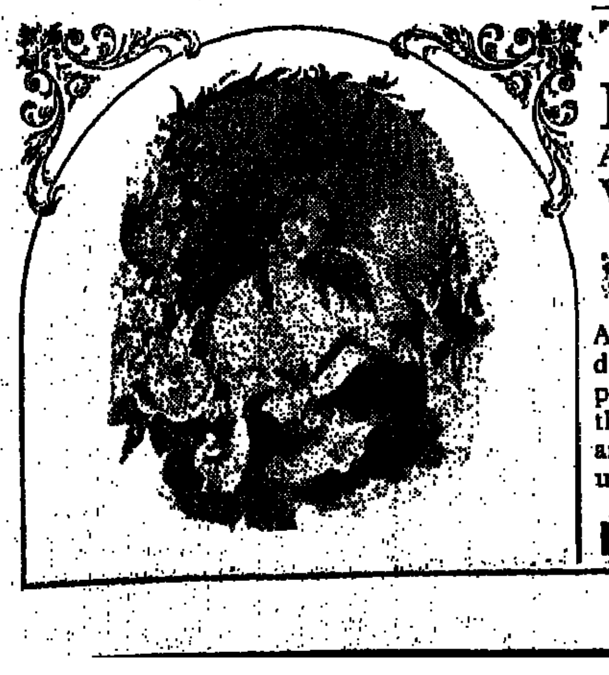
ALBERTO ARBASINO.
Via Giunturco 4, 00196 Roma.

'Shakespeare and the Lawyers'

Sir,—Owing to the fact that the proof of my review of O. Hood Phillips's *Shakespeare and the Lawyers* (November 10) did not reach me, there were some misprints in it and I should be grateful if you would give me the opportunity of correcting an important one. I do not profess to be an expert on the identity of Mr W. H. and I am not entitled to express a view as to whether Dr Rowse's theory is correct or not. But my review, as printed, suggested that it was not. I criticized Professor Hood Phillips for not mentioning Dr Rowse's theory at all and added "if only to show that it is mistaken, if it is". Unfortunately the words "if it is" were omitted and I feel that Dr Rowse is owed an apology.

YOUR REVIEWER.

* Our reviewer is also owed an apology.



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34 Göttingen, Postfach 77,
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Before and after Chomsky

LEONARD R. PALMER:

Descriptive and Comparative Linguistics

A Critical Introduction

430pp. Faber and Faber. £6.50.

Leonard Palmer's *Introduction to Modern Linguistics* (1936) was a slim, attractive work, so much in demand that stocks quickly ran out. Its replacement, bulky and expensive, reflects changes in interest in linguistics over the past forty years; it presents not only accepted facts, but also the author's personal attitudes. Moreover it devotes much space to discussion of the work of Chomsky, who has towered over the subject for the past ten years.

As Professor Palmer retired early from his Chair at Oxford to devote himself to completion of the book, we are not surprised that he has mastered many of the recent developments in the subject and can survey them in a sane and percipient way. His appointment at Oxford predated Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957) which marks the "Copernican" revolution in linguistics. At that date, Oxford (and a little later, Cambridge) could still see Linguistics as a natural extension of Comparative Philology: Chomsky has helped put Linguistics as a separate discipline on the map and, incidentally, to return Oxbridge Comparative Philology to the fold of Classics.

Like many "introductory" books on the subject, this one is not sure which audience it is addressing. The section on historical linguistics is excellent as a presentation of established knowledge, with the insights that only someone of Professor Palmer's stature can provide. His own preoccupations are evident, especially in his brilliant chapters on "Writing" and on "Language and Culture". But we look in vain for reference to recent thinking on language change, especially syntactic change: perhaps generative grammar's most lasting contribution to linguistics will be the link it establishes between processes of language acquisition and of change in language, a link which Professor Palmer barely mentions.

On synchronic linguistics, three different strands can be observed. First, as in the phonetics section, we have a lucid presentation of views and findings, which provides a solid, comparatively uncontroversial base for any study of language, but which may appear too technical for the general reader. Secondly, as in the chapters on "Phonemics: from the Phone to the Phoneme" and "The First Articulation: from the Utterance to the Moneme", the author presents his own views of the way language works—perhaps the most cogent and coherent presentation yet of a functional model of language, of the type usually associated with the name of André Martinet, and certain to be appreciated by serious students of linguistics. Thirdly, he discusses, critically and always lucidly, other linguists' models of language—with special emphasis on the Chomskyan transformational-generative (TG) model, which gets a chapter of its own.

Before turning to TG, Professor Palmer presents some other syntactic models, coming down heavily in favour of the Word-Paradigm (WP) model of Greek tradition. In particular he emphasizes his view that "language" is the linguist's abstraction from the data, which is most conveniently arranged at different levels of abstraction, without necessarily being mapped, in a regular way, one to the other. He stresses especially that the lexicon, as distinct from the "monematicon", is not structured or subject to rules. With these preconceptions, it is easy to see (a phrase which he incidentally views as a lexical unit, *easy-to-see*, thus conjuring away Chomsky's best example) that Chomsky's almost metaphysical approach has no meaning for him. For Chomsky, language is an innate species-specific faculty, the inner workings of which the linguist attempts to discern: he seeks to express, in a precise, formal way, intuitions he believes the native speaker has about, for instance, relationships between sentences or the connexion between certain syntactic structures and lexical items.

This aspect of Chomsky's theories has been further developed in generative semantics and, to some degree, in Fillmorean case grammar, neither of which Professor Palmer discusses at all. In what he does discuss, he is at pains (like John Lyons, another British linguist) to show the continuity, not the discontinuity, of developments in linguistics; Chomsky's analyses of some individual structures are demonstrated to be different only terminologically from his own, while other "problems" are shown to be nonsensical in his own terms.

Those "linguists" not directly concerned with "linguistics", who are disturbed by all the song and dance made about Chomsky, will be greatly comforted by this book. But they should be wary of talk about a foreseeable "counter-revolution" in linguistics—the trends that Professor Palmer cites are more like attempts at reaction. Linguistics, even after the TG fashion fades (as it is already doing), will never be the same again: language remains more mysterious than Professor Palmer's down-to-earth attitude would allow. Nevertheless, his book is to be highly recommended as the most readable, well-balanced and authoritative introduction yet available.

Natural inscriptions

C. M. MATTHEWS:

Place-Names of the English-Speaking World

369pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £3.25.

Place-Names of the English-Speaking World breaks new ground in two ways. The second half of the book covers the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Southern Africa, each area being explored for the styles and origins of the local name-giving. So we find in the New World the magniloquent but repetitive religiosity of the Spaniards and Portuguese contrasted with the transplantation of familiar town and county names by the English settlers (strikingly illustrated by the map reproduced on the jacket); the pre-revolutionary loyal commemoration of British royal, noble and political personages from the home country, contrasting with the post-revolutionary preference for names drawn from France, or the ancient world of Greece and Rome, or even the social virtues. An early determination to ignore native naming and civilize the landscape with European names contrasts with a nineteenth-century romantic revival of interest in those same indigenous names, so that most of the later-formed states of both the United States and Canada bear names of Amerindian origin.

All this is found amply exemplified in the United States and, with some modifications (chiefly the absence of the revolutionary element and a more prolonged attachment to loyal references to the powers that be in Britain) in the other territories also. The languages concerned are therefore generally well known—Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, or to most readers entirely unknown, as Maori or the Amerindian languages; consequently questions of interpretation either do not arise at all, for the languages are more or less in their modern forms, or are so far out of our knowledge that we must take all on trust. This part of the book makes an interesting, informative, and sometimes critical selection of material gathered from the various works on the nomenclature of these areas, which are listed in a short bibliography.

The first half of the book also has its novel feature. In its discussion of English names it follows a typological arrangement within the Anglo-Saxon period, and a chronological one elsewhere, and attempts to illustrate only the general features of the different periods and languages. C. M. Matthews does, however, go much further than is usual in a general survey of this kind into the Celtic element, both in its Romano-British and pre-Anglo-Saxon contribution, and in its continuous and unobscured tradition in those parts of Britain to which English penetrated only at a much later period. To the latter part of the subject she devotes a summary containing some good points and as much as can be expected before the surveys of these areas, now in progress, are completed.

The pre-English period is dangerous ground for the amateur who may trust the wrong expert, and this seems to have befallen Mrs Matthews on several occasions. She is led to lump together the river-names *Axe*, *Exe*, *Usk* and *Ouse* and take them all as Celtic and cognate with Latin *aqua*. She perceives the popular etymology at work on *Eburacum* (though she omits the final Scandinavian stage which alone makes *York* possible), but not that which affects the Anglo-Saxon form of *Sorbiodunum*. She is unnecessarily vague about the reason for interchanges of *m*, *b* and *v*, and inconsistent in quoting some Celtic elements as complete words and others as stems or composition forms (the latter without the customary hyphens). She is unlikely to be right in thinking the Isle of Man is called after the sea-god Manannan, or that Anglesey can mean "Island of the Angles", or that anyone ever called Iona Columcille. She seems also to have misplaced Beauly and Listowel. She or her printers are also responsible for a long list of misspelt words and names, of which the correct forms are *mynydd* (page 20), *Ammianus* (29), *ceaster* (41), *Croesoswallt* (74), *Reykjavik* (85), *Cernyw* (92), *Carrig y Drudion* (128), *Gwynedd* (134), *Meirion* (134), *Clut* or *Clud* but not *Cluth* (136), *Cymry* (136), *Kingstown* (145), *kerling* not *carline* (147), *Luimneach* (147), *bod myneich* (152), *Tyddewi* (154), *Sasunnach*, *Saesneg* (298). And there is no good reason to be doubtful about the etymology of *church* whatever the *New Oxford Dictionary* (sic) may say.

Slaves to style

FERDINAND BRUNOT:

Histoire de la langue française des origines à nos jours

Volume 13: CHARLES BRUNEAU: *L'Epoque réaliste. Deuxième partie: La Prose littéraire*

204pp. Paris: Armand Colin. 45fr.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of intensive experimentation in the history of French prose style. There were three main trends which were sometimes interconnected and sometimes opposed to each other. Flaubert evolved a new concept of style based on the harmony of the sentence and other aesthetic factors. The Goncourt brothers were more interested in expressive values and impressionist effects; it was their ambition, as Edmond de Goncourt put it, to "rendre l'irrendable". Zola was influenced by the Goncourts but he also tried to broaden the range of linguistic resources by introducing popular forms of speech into his style; he himself described this experiment as a work of pure philology and emphasized its historical and social significance.

These and other trends are examined, in the light of numerous examples, in the latest instalment of Ferdinand Brunot's *Histoire de la langue française*. When, after the death of his illustrious namesake, Charles Bruneau took over this monumental enterprise, he changed the whole emphasis by giving it a strongly stylistic orientation. He published two substantial volumes in his lifetime—the twelfth: *L'Epoque Romantique* (1948), and thirteenth: *L'Epoque réaliste. Première partie: Fin du Romantisme et Parnasse* (1953). The present instalment, written mainly before Bruneau's retirement in 1954, has now been posthumously published by Maurice Piron with a minimum of editorial intervention but with an up-to-date bibliography. Although it is incomplete, it fortunately contains all the essential elements of a history of French literary prose in the period under discussion. Attention is focused on six major figures, two of whom, Flaubert and Maupassant, are considered under the heading "La prose d'art", and the other four—the Goncourt brothers, Alphonse Daudet and Zola—under that of "L'écriture artiste". There are also shorter chapters on the style of Vallès, Fromentin and Charles de Coster and on the regionalism of Barbey d'Aurevilly and Léon Cladel.

Bruneau's method has been described as pointillist, and this is very much in evidence in this posthumous volume. As M. Piron points out in the preface, Bruneau liked to proceed by juxtaposition of details rather than by broad syntheses, preferring "un échantillonnage vivant et suggestif à la démonstration en bonne et due forme". He followed roughly the same plan in all the central chapters; after an introductory section dealing with the aesthetic theories of each writer, his vocabulary, his grammatical usage, his stylistic devices and his sentence structure are examined in turn. Within these broad divisions, the material, consisting of a wealth of examples accompanied by brief comments, is classified according to the traditional categories of lexical, grammatical and rhetorical analysis; to these are added some which are peculiar to an author or group of authors, such as the famous nominal syntax (abstract nouns for adjectives and similar constructions) which was an important feature of the "écriture artiste".

Bruneau's method has several advantages. It always remains close to the texts and avoids the rarefied atmosphere of theorizing which is so common in modern criticism as well as in linguistics. Many of the examples are interesting and illuminating, and the comments are often perceptive. There are also certain weaknesses. The really significant stylistic innovations of the various writers, such as, for instance, "free indirect style" in Flaubert, do not stand out sufficiently against the less original and interesting aspects of their usage. The same categories—archaisms, neologisms, technical and popular terms, enumeration, imagery, personification and others—tend to recur with rather monotonous regularity, and one sometimes has the impression that one is reading a catalogue, a classified card-index—an extreme example is the chapter on Fromentin where there are nearly three pages of quotations unrelieved by any commentary. Statements on the frequency or rareness of various stylistic peculiarities are usually vague and subjective; thus we are told that the Goncourts have fewer metaphors than one would have expected, but not even an approximate indication of numbers is given, nor do we have any information about the nature and size of the corpus on which this conclusion is based.

Among the most valuable elements of the book are the sections dealing with the ideas of writers on problems of language and style. Some of the quotations are highly revealing. We find Flaubert writing to Feydeau in 1857: "Les affres de la phrase commenceront, les supplices de l'assonance, les tortures de la période", and Edmond de Goncourt asserting that his brother had died "du travail de la peine du style". Particularly interesting is a passage from Fromentin in which, foreshadowing Valéry and Eliot, he describes the emergence of a poem from some pre-existent sound pattern. Zola, who dedicated *L'Assommoir* to "mon grand ami Gustave Flaubert, en haine du goût", summed up the case against "literary jewellers chiselling their style" when he declared: "Les étrangers ne comprennent absolument rien à nos soucis de style. . . . Nous seuls, nous nous sommes mis martel en tête depuis Rousseau pour tirer des mots une essence d'art particulière."

THE HISTORY OF IDEAS—4

Partial historians and total history

BY CHRISTOPHER HILL

The writing of history has always been a battle against the self-styled expert. The history of religion was slowly and painfully taken out of the hands of theologians, constitutional history from the lawyers. But new hydra heads spring up continually. In the past the problem was to make historians of, for example, religion and law aware of the existence of economics. Today the problem is to convince econometric historians of the existence of religion and law, to persuade statisticians that some things in the past are more countable than others, and that there is not much point in counting the uncountable.

Historians of science are divided into those who stress the internal self-sufficient development of scientific ideas and those who stress the effects of society on science. I once heard a distinguished historian of science argue in all seriousness that a knowledge of seventeenth-century history could add nothing to our understanding of Sir Isaac Newton. In the narrowest mathematical sense this may be true; but the Newtonian synthesis is an ideological as well as a mathematical fact, and I find it difficult to believe that Newton's secretiveness, his silences and suppressions, his passion for alchemy and Biblical prophecy, his strange, twisted personality, cannot be better understood for an understanding of the difficult world in which he lived and was knighted. It is no doubt true that too many historians venture to write about science on the basis of less knowledge than they would think necessary before writing about theology or law, and therefore have been guilty of over-simplifications which need to be corrected. But there is no reason to suppose that science is intrinsically any more difficult for historians to understand than theology or law. Charles Webster has recently very correctly criticized those whom he calls "restrictive" historians of science, and argued that their conclusions even about science in the narrowest sense are vitiated by their approach ("The Authorship and Significance of *Macaria*", *Past and Present*, No 56). We must not allow historians of science an autonomy that has rightly been denied to theologians and lawyers, nor permit them to assume that the great thinkers of the past inhabited an ivory-towered vacuum.

Historians of culture suffer from the same apparently inevitable tendency to strive for autonomy. Yet culture is the product of a given society. Any attempt to treat it otherwise means succumbing to "the illusion of the epoch", to taking at their face value things which should be evaluated in relation to a larger whole. Thus Peter Laslett described England before the Industrial Revolution as "a one-class society" . . . "the mass of Englishmen cannot be counted as part of England for historical purposes"; "the minority lived for all the rest" (*The World We Have Lost*). A similar error is that of historians who assume that seventeenth-century critics of Oxford and Cambridge were enemies of education and learning. In each case the propaganda of seventeenth-century defenders of privilege has been swallowed whole.

The word "culture" meets with a certain resistance in England. It is all right when used by archaeologists and restricted to material objects, or by anthropologists dealing with relatively unsophisticated societies. But on the whole historians have preferred the word "civilization". "Culture" in its wider usage has a slightly alien flavour—Germanic, Marxist, at best American. There are *Histories of Culture* by the American Preserved Smith and by the English Marxist Jack Lindsay; Arnold Toynbee, Clive Bell and Lord Clark write about civilization and civilizations.

Some of the best cultural history in English has in fact been written by Marxists, or by Marxist-influenced historians. I think of George Thomson on ancient Greece, E. A. Thompson on the barbarian invaders, Edward Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm on eighteenth and nineteenth-century England, Joseph Needham on China, Isaac Deutscher on the Soviet Union, Ernst Meyer on English music, Frederick Antal and Eric Mercer on English art. Such unlikely characters as Sir John Hicks in England, Fernand Braudel in France and T. S. Kuhn in the United States have recently written approvingly of some sort of a return to Marx. The advantage that Marxist-influenced historians have is that they think of history as one, take for granted that there are likely to be connexions between the culture and the economics of a society, however difficult it may be to analyse them. The vast rumbling Marxist generalizations at least provoke thought, even if only to contradict. Thus Ernst Fischer: "The epic declined with the age of chivalry, and the novel grew up with the bourgeoisie; . . . polyphonic music died together with the feudal system, and homophonic music developed together with the bourgeois age" (*The Necessity of Art*). Discuss.

Good cultural history must stimulate ideas about the society which produced the culture. When Eric Gill said "there was not such a thing as portrait painting before about the year 1480", or the Ogdens tell us that English landscape painting is a seventeenth-century creation, it is clear that the explanation of these facts (assuming for the moment that they are facts) must go beyond the range of art history in its narrow technical sense. A historian of ideas like V. Harris, historians of music like Ernst Meyer, G. M. Ruff and D. A. Wilson, a literary historian like A. Harbage, a historian of law like W. R. Prest, all agree in seeing a crisis in English culture around 1615. It does not need any great expertise to relate this to a crisis in English economic and political life. But once the various crises are seen as part of a social whole, they all gain in significance. It may or may not affect our attitude to the art concerned to hear Van Dyck described as "a conscious propagandist of absolutism", or to be told that one of Baroque's most "unequivocal statements" in English painting was made in the inner chambers of Windsor Castle which the papist Antonio Vercio decorated for Charles II. But such considerations cannot but affect our view of the place of Van Dyck, Verrio and, indeed, Baroque in English cultural history, and help us to avoid lazy over-simplifications like "Puritan hostility to art". The hostility of most Puritans was to art of a particular kind.

The great economic historians were great historians of culture—Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Maynard Keynes. Even a generation ago an historian in search of intellectual stimulus would turn to the pages of *Economic History Review*. Now, alas, he is likely to find its pages full of methodological controversies between statisticians who cheerfully agree that what they are arguing about will not affect our conclusions about the past. One would not need to worry about the mere technologists of economic history if some of them did not attempt cultural generalizations without adequate historical knowledge, or assume that a single key—demography, for instance—will open all doors, when they do not know enough religious and social history even to grasp how unreliable is their basic source, the parish register. Historians should be pluralists. I do not accept what I take to be G. R. Elton's view that political and administrative history is in some sense more significant than social history or the history of culture. The Oxford History of England now seems pretty old-fashioned with its separate chapters on "Education and Science", "The Arts", "Literature", tacked on at the end like a paper tail on to a donkey in the child's game. As in that game, those who did the tacking seem sometimes to have been blindfolded.

No one can be a universal historian these days: all that can be hoped for is modesty in each practitioner, a realization that his specialization gives him only a partial view; and a conscientious attempt, to the best of his ability, to look for connexions and interrelations. Mastery of the techniques—anthropology, computers—is a necessary preliminary. The economic historian, the historian of science or culture, the constitutional historian, like the nineteenth-century antiquarians, will produce raw materials which other historians can use. Modesty, judgment, imagination, a sensitivity to connexions: these are what all historians need over and above the special techniques of their particular sub-disciplines, need in order to keep these techniques in their proper place. The attempt to see connexions is hazardous and may lead to mistakes. But these can be corrected. Failure to look for connexions leads to barrenness, myopia, blinkers.

Economic history is essential to historians of culture because culture is a class phenomenon. L. B. Wright was absolutely correct to isolate *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England*—the culture of the Protestant ethic, of the dignity of labour, of love in marriage, plain prose and accurate portraiture—as distinct from the court culture of aristocratic honour, of virtuoso amateurism, of property marriage and a dual sexual ethic, "witty" prose and flattering portraiture. The culture of Van Dyck, Rubens and the court of Louis XIV was very different from the culture of Rembrandt, Bunyan and Milton. Keith Thomas has recently used anthropological techniques to reveal the sub-culture of magic and superstition which existed below both the courtly culture and the middle-class culture. His *Religion and the Decline of Magic* is perhaps the most important contribution to our understanding of English cultural history, and indeed English history *tout court*, published in the past generation.

All history should be cultural history, and the best history is. The most significant contribution to the history of religion in England made during the past decade came in a book called *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640*. Here

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Joan Thirsk and Alan Everitt distinguish between the culture of the champaign agricultural areas and the culture of the forest and pasture areas: the former stable, docile, controlled, orthodox, the latter mobile, more open, freer, more heretical. Already Professor Everitt is using this as a key to open many doors in the later history of Nonconformity. Conversely, one of the most important recent insights into social, political and economic history comes from Patrick Collinson's *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, which demonstrates that in the 1570s and 1580s a section of the gentry and peerage, in alliance with town oligarchies, was trying to subordinate the church to its control. This not only throws light on the social basis of Puritanism, it also illuminates the political history of the next century during which this control was fought for, in various guises, and finally won.

Admirable history of English culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been written over the past decade by historians of the Warburg Institute. Pride of place must be given to Frances Yates's stimulating books—*Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, The Art of Memory*, and *Theatre of the World*, to mention only the most recent. She manages superbly to unite cultural history with total history, to relate her most daringly exotic speculations to the real world in which Bruno, Shakespeare and Robert Fludd lived, to link magic, mathematics and machines, to associate Protestant iconoclasm with the evolution of a new philosophic method. Not every historian would accept all that she says, but this is because she bubbles over with ideas which are apt to run away in all directions; but even her errors, if errors they are, are more fertile than most people's truths. D. P. Walker's *The Decline of Hell* similarly deals with intellectual history in a way that is not separated from total history but is an integral part of it. Dr Yates's serious treatment of Hermeticism has been developed by P. M. Rattansi and Charles Webster, who show how this magical ideology of the craftsmen contributed significantly to the scientific revolution.

P. W. Thomas's study of *Sir John Berkenhead, 1617-1679*, suggests that royalist classicism emerged in the defeat and fear of the decade after the Civil War. It was the defence mechanism of an insecure elite, their retort to the challenging world of democracy and social insubordination. We may compare the relationship of French classicism to the anxieties and insecurities of the Fronde. There are analogies in other areas of English culture. The Restoration brought back bishops, and aimed at restoring traditional certainties against the "enthusiasm" of mechanic preachers and the "atheism" of mechanic philosophers. The propagandists of the Royal Society, some of them a little tarred with the brush of radicalism, took up with gusto the attack on enthusiasm and atheism. Our most religious King, Charles II, was well advised to become patron of the Royal Society as well as head of the Church of England, and to tie both closely to the social hierarchy. It may have been no better for science than it was for religion, but it certainly helped to conserve the newly established order.

In a similar sphere the work of a literary critic like Lionel Trilling gains enormously in depth from his ability to put "literary" questions in a cultural-historical perspective. "Our investigation of sincerity", he says in his recent *Sincerity and Authenticity*, "has no sooner begun than it has led to public and even political considerations." Just because Professor Trilling is intelligently aware of what contemporary historians are up to, he can raise questions of profound interest to those who are not literary specialists—such as the implications of the fact that the word "villain" (on the stage) evolves from the world "villein" at a time of great social mobility, or that the writing of narrative history has become old-fashioned simultaneously with the writing of narrative novels.

So I do not think the death of formal histories of culture in English is something about which we need worry too much. It is more important that we should not have too narrowly specialized a conception of cultural history, any more than of economic history. Lawrence Stone's majestic *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*, shows how the best history includes the history of culture: what he has to say about sculpture or about aristocratic patronage of the arts is convincing because he understands the economics of the society. A. L. Rowse, for all his irritating idiosyncrasies, is another historian who sees culture as an integral part of total history, and writes the better about it because he is a real historian. The history of education, to take another example, is being rewritten with the aid of wills by W. K. Jordan, of statistics by Professor Stone, and with an awareness of the changing social background by Joan Simon and Kenneth Charlton. Since the history of culture exists as a fact, it is perhaps just as well that there are no professors, no departments, no empires, to isolate an autonomous "cultural history" from the rest of history.

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The impact of the Superman

DAVID S. THATCHER:

Nietzsche in England 1890-1914

331pp. Toronto University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £7.

PATRICK BRIDGWATER:

Nietzsche in Anglosaxony

236pp. Leicester University Press. £3.

The discernible influence of Nietzsche on English thought began about 1890, and ended, so far as it is accurate to speak of such a force as ending, in 1914. General interest began in 1896 with the publication of the first two volumes of the English translation edited by A. Tille. Havelock Ellis's study of Nietzsche appeared in *The Savoy* in that year, and thereafter for several years the philosopher was inescapably topical. The period 1890-1914 is the central concern of both books under review, though Patrick Bridgwater includes the American writers and extends his survey in that direction without reference to a terminal date. David S. Thatcher confines his attention to the official years.

Mr Thatcher's aim is "to examine Nietzsche's impact on English intellectual life in the years preceding 1914", bearing especially in mind "the concept of the 'superman' or *Ubermensch*". He begins with the translators, Tille, Common, Levy, and the dubious ground prepared for them by Max Nordau's attack on Nietzsche in *Degeneration*, which appeared in English in 1895. Then he comes to the several writers in whom he sees Nietzsche's influence at work, notably John Davidson, Ellis, Shaw, Wells, Symons, Joyce, Moore, Yeats, and Orage. Mr Thatcher's work is concerned with the history of ideas, but he is more interested in the nature of the ideas transmitted than in the nature of the mind that receives them. It matters little to him whether the ideas fall on fertile or on stony ground, provided they can be shown to fall.

The result is that the examples of influence which Mr Thatcher recites lose their differences after a while, and ideas are sent abroad as if they were interchangeable motifs. His account of Nietzsche's impact is therefore short of impact, since one blow soon comes to register much the same force as another. His tone throughout the book is polite but somewhat monotonous; the same manner accompanies him when he is discussing Symons on the similarities between Nietzsche and Blake, or Shaw's approach to Nietzsche through Ibsen and Wagner. A reader is prompted to feel either that none of these things matters or that all things matter equally. The merit of *Nietzsche in England 1890-1914* is that it brings together, even if in an excessively even-handed fashion, references, ideas, and attitudes which otherwise might have lain dispersed. Towards the end, Mr Thatcher runs to a more spirited style than his norm, but the effect is odd. Quoting a passage from Clive Bell's *Civilization*, he takes a swipe at Bloomsbury, but the gesture strikes hard upon his own style:

> Bloomsbury was an effort at mouth-to-mouth resuscitation on the cultural level, an effort to which we owe the novels of Forster and Virginia Woolf, Keynesian economics, Strachey's anti-Victorianism and the breakthrough in England of post-impressionist painting; but it was those whom Bloomsbury rejected (not only Nietzsche but Joyce, Eliot, and Lawrence) who most clearly foresaw and helped to shape the modern world.

Generally, however, Mr Thatcher takes care not to offend.

Nietzsche in Anglosaxony covers much of the same ground, though Mr Bridgwater's way features a somewhat brisker account, less detail and a wider range of writers. Where the ground is precisely the same, he has a different approach; more speculative, though often at the cost of offering as evidence of influence parallel passages which are not parallel at all. Both scholars use, in the chapter on Yeats, the poet's marginal comments on Thomas Common's *Nietzsche as Critic, Philosopher, Poet and Prophet*, though the transcriptions differ in several important respects. Mr Bridgwater dutifully produces the main comparisons, but he has no heart for the work on this chapter, he thinks Nietzsche a minor influence, after all, "compared with, say, Plotinus". Mr Thatcher is not content with that: he insists that Yeats "is the poet of the world-view of which Nietzsche is the first philosopher".

At this point the debate becomes tedious. It is probable, in Yeats's case, that Mr Thatcher's Nietzsche can lick Mr Bridgwater's Plotinus at least on points, but it is hard to believe that such contests are fruitful. Both scholars are assiduous in collecting evidence, but they do not allow for the "impact" of rival "influences" on their chosen writers. Even Mr Bridgwater does not set his Plotinus against his Nietzsche. He finds Nietzsche nearly everywhere, in Pater, Symons, George Moore, Davidson, Wells, Shaw, Yeats, Herbert Read, Edwin Muir, Lawrence, J. C. Powys, Dreiser, Jack London, Eugene O'Neill, and Wallace Stevens. But by concentrating on his philosopher in this way, he knocks his writers out of line. Though he acknowledges that "there is no existing evidence that Wallace Stevens was 'influenced' by Nietzsche", he hammers away none the less, despite Stevens's own denial, on the question of the hero, "major man". After ten pages of trying to bring *Notes towards a Supreme Fiction* home to Nietzsche, Mr Bridgwater has given a most distorted account of Stevens's poetry, though his intention was pure, to begin with. The figure of Stevens as Nietzschean is simply not convincing. The poet's interest in the philosopher was slight and merely picturesque, as in "Description without Place", where "Nietzsche in Basel" is a trope not much more heavily laden than "Pablo Neruda in Ceylon" or "Lenin on a bench beside a lake".

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gen Leviné is one of the lesser-known figures in the history of the German revolution of 1918-19. Yet the part he played in it was a dramatic and significant one. His public career in Germany was relatively short. It really began only in November 1918, and ended with his execution by a Munich firing squad in June 1919. This does not mean he was a newcomer to politics. He was an extreme example of the alienated Russian middle-class intellectual, whose energies and enthusiasm were channelled into the task of overthrowing a social system he despised.

Born in St Petersburg in 1883, Leviné was the son of a successful Jewish merchant called Levin, who had taken Italian nationality for business reasons and latinized his name. The father died while Leviné was still young, and his childhood was dominated by a strong-willed mother whose imperious behaviour aroused rebellious feelings in her son. He was sent to Germany to be educated and was influenced by Russian exiles with radical views. After the outbreak of the 1905 revolution he returned to Russia and was active as an agitator associated with the Social Revolutionaries. He was eventually arrested and saved from a long period of imprisonment only by the energetic intervention of his mother. Returning to Germany a semi-invalid, he made a study of unionized workers in Mannheim and took his doctorate at Heidelberg in 1914. Not surprisingly, Leviné welcomed the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and after the peace of Brest-Litovsk he worked at the new Soviet Russian embassy in Berlin. When the German Empire collapsed he went to the Ruhr as an organizer and propagandist for the Spartacist League, and was an enthusiastic supporter of the decision, taken at the end of December 1918, to create an independent German Communist Party (KPD). A few weeks later, after the failure of the "Spartacist rising" in Berlin, he tried to attend the founding Congress of the Comintern, but was unable to cross the German frontier and eventually found his way to Bavaria, where he was ordered to take over the editorship of the Munich *Rote Fahne*.

The KPD in Munich was very small and its leaders were prepared to work together with other revolutionaries who wished to establish a Soviet republic in Bavaria. In view of the fact that recent parliamentary elections there had produced an overwhelming majority against any kind of Soviet dictatorship, the need for collaboration among radical groups seemed self-evident. Leviné, however, insisted that the Communists should hold themselves aloof from revolutionary activities which were not under their control. He stressed the need to build up a Communist following in the Munich factory councils (*Betriebsräte*), a policy which he had already urged on the KPD as a whole at its founding congress. On April 4, 1919, a group of radical socialists and anarchists decided that the time was ripe for the proclamation of a Soviet republic in Bavaria, but Leviné refused them Communist support. Nevertheless, when the conventionally elected Bavarian government, led by the Social Democrat, Johannes Hoffmann, tried to overthrow the Munich Soviet, the Communists helped to defeat his efforts, and Leviné himself took the lead in a new, Communist-controlled regime. Although most of its revolutionary programme, like that of its short-lived predecessor, remained on paper, Leviné and his colleagues showed considerable effectiveness in frightening the bourgeoisie and building up a "Red Army" in Munich. When it became clear that a military conflict with government forces was inevitable, the Communist Soviet leaders were deposed, but the Red Army prepared to fight. At the end of April military operations in Munich, accompanied by serious atrocities—mostly on the part of government troops—ended the Soviet experiment in Munich. Leviné himself was arrested and brought to trial before an emergency court. He used the courtroom as a platform from which to defend the KPD and the Soviet Republic, even though he thereby reduced his chances of avoiding the death penalty. He was executed on June 5, 1919.

Leviné's judges regarded him as an alien and sophisticated expert in subversion who had entered Bavaria with the deliberate intention of fomenting civil disorder. On the left he was hailed as a hero martyred in the cause of the world revolution. It would be unfair to expect his widow, Rosa Meyer-Leviné, to be anything but totally committed to this viewpoint. Mrs Leviné, who shared her husband's stormy career with great personal courage, writes vividly of their life together and acts as an eloquent advocate on Leviné's behalf. She also reprints his last speech before the court in Munich, itself a masterpiece of revolutionary rhetoric.

Leviné was to a certain degree overshadowed by a more celebrated Communist martyr, Rosa Luxemburg, a figure whom he respected but did not uncritically admire. The pioneering biography of Luxemburg by Paul Frölich has made a welcome reappearance in English, translated by Joanna Hoornweg from the third and revised German edition of 1967, with a new preface by Tony Cliff.

Pacifist warfare

EATRIX KEMPF:

Suffragette for Peace

The Life of Bertha von Suttner

Translated by R. W. Last

pp. Oswald Wolff. £2.75.

Recently there has been new interest in Central Europe in the personality and work of Bertha von Suttner. Her lengthy, but vivid *Lebenserinnerungen*, first published in 1907, was reissued in East Germany in 1970. In her own country, Austria, a brief but discerning biography by Beatrix Kempf was published in 1964, and now appears here in an adequate translation; it includes seventy pages of extracts from Suttner's speeches and writings. It is perhaps time that we took note of this remarkable figure, one of the first women political journalists on the Continent and an indefatigable champion of the cause of peace. One of her many books, *Lay Down Your Arms* (1899), was a bestseller in many languages. And in 1905 she was the first woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

Though by no means a literary masterpiece, *Lay Down Your Arms* can be seen today as a significant document of social and ideological history. It illustrates equally the indoctrination of the upper and middle classes in Central Europe with the spectre of war, the illusions of military heroism, and the sufferings of men and women in not yet total war. Based on the events of 1859, 1864, 1866 and 1870-71, on the records of army doctors and of the Red Cross Society, the novel portrayed contemporary attitudes convincingly and offered a clear message. The manuscript was rejected again and again by publishers who argued that it was "quite impossible to publish anything of this nature in a modern military state". One reason for the eventual success of the novel may well have been its glimpses into high society. The heroine, Martha von Tilling, becomes a pacifist nonconformist after losing her young husband in battle and realizing the absurdity of the tribal ethics of warfare.

With a touch of nice complacency the English translator of the novel, T. Holmes, wrote in his preface: "We English-speaking people whether in England, in the Colonies or the United States, being ourselves in no immediate danger of seeing our homes invaded and our cities laid under contribution by hostile armies, are apt to forget how terribly the remembrance of such calamities and the constant threat of their occurrence haunt the lives of our Continental brethren." He went on to hope that Britain would join "in some well-considered scheme for general treaties of Arbitration and for the Institution of an International Court".

At the time of the international Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899, Baroness Suttner, née Countess Kinsky, the President of the Austrian Peace Society, was a major figure in the international peace movement. According to her biographer, "there is no doubt that she was caught up in the game of diplomatic intrigue". Over the years she made skilful use of her many social and political contacts and journalistic chances. She was in constant touch with that Janus-like Swedish eccentric, Alfred Nobel, who produced dynamite and promoted peace, and she influenced the important decisions he made in his will.

Uncomfortably aware of the growing tensions after 1900, she found encouragement in the American interest in the cause of world peace, particularly when shown by Roosevelt and Taft. In 1912 she went on a lecture tour in the United States and was impressed by the lively response of her audiences. She knew how to play up to them. Her speech in San Francisco makes poignant reading today:

> Hail to the Future! America is the Future embodied so far as my generation shall see it realized. The American people can well afford to glorify their founders and their leaders for what they have wrought for them. Our founders died in the battle for pillage, and our leaders, to our sorrow, are busy planning still other campaigns, while the people hopelessly ask "Who is our enemy? We know no cause for war!"

The aging propagandist then explained the three aspects of the peace movement through the slogan: "As a Religion we preach it; as a Science we teach it; as a Warfare we fight for it." Bertha Suttner died in Vienna on June 21, 1914. Seven days later the shots of Sarajevo resounded in her country and all over the globe, despite all her gallant efforts.

DOROTHY MARSHALL:

The Life and Times of Victoria

224pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £2.65.

This is a very welcome addition to the cheerful series on the Kings and Queens of England. Dorothy Marshall, a distinguished scholar of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has handled her material—familiar as much of it inevitably is—with judicious skill. In the result she gives us a general rather than a particular impression of "that supremely feminine figure". The Queen as wife, matriarch and imperialist is well known to all of us, and it is useful to be reminded in this book of her political work and of her views on the social problems of the day.

Miss Marshall alludes to the fashion for slumming—though dating it half a century too soon—and there can be no doubt that some of the feeling which inspired people to work in the worst areas of London had the sympathetic understanding of the Queen. In a letter to Gladstone, urging him to action, she referred to housing in London as "overcrowded, unhealthy and squalid". The illustrations—though there is at one point a little confusion between Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon—are wholly admirable.

The
Occult Sciences
in the
Renaissance

A Study in Intellectual Patterns

Wayne Shumaker

This study offers a summary and analysis of five esoteric "scientific" systems: astrology, natural or white magic, witchcraft, alchemy, and the meditative philosophy associated with Hermes Trismegistus, a shadowy Egyptian figure of the remote past. To many Renaissance men, these systems were considered sources of truth about the meaning and order of human life.

Mr. Shumaker's primary aim in the book is to enlarge the modern comprehension of these systems and to aid readers in the interpretation of the many allusions to them in the literature of the Renaissance. All of these occult sciences are complex, some have been misunderstood, and most scholarship has focused on one or another to the exclusion of the rest. The author is also concerned to reveal mental patterns in Renaissance occult thought, which is found to include a rich use of analogy and the reading of human sensitivity, even of human consciousness, into the external world.

"So able a treatise on the whole range of *occulta* in the Renaissance is a rarity and will surely be of great interest to scholars of that period and readers curious about occult subjects in all eras. Mr. Shumaker's attempt at a synthesis represents a major, unparalleled effort."—Paul H. Kocher, Stanford University.

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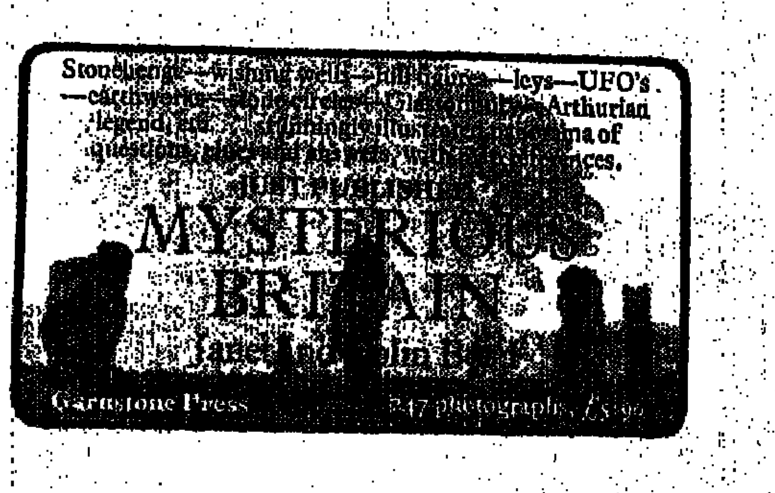

Coherent contexts

ANDERS NYGREN :
Meaning and Method
Translated by Philip S. Watson
412pp. Epworth. £5.

Anders Nygren has long been known to the English-speaking theological world as the author of *Agape and Eros*, a pioneering study of the Christian concept of love which now ranks as a modern classic. Since then Professor Nygren has written a number of articles and books in the philosophy of religion while serving as Bishop of Lund and as a leading figure in the ecumenical movement. After a second period of full-time academic work he has now retired; and *Meaning and Method* is the fruit of the second period of his theological activity.

The book is unusual and noteworthy as a full-scale fundamental discussion of the nature of the philosophy of religion and of theology. It is also of special interest to us in this country as a distinctively Scandinavian approach to the topics with which it deals.

When Professor Nygren speaks of a scientific philosophy of religion and a scientific theology he is not using the adjective in the sense in which it appears in most English books but in the German sense of *wissenschaftlich*, which he compresses into the formula: "We can speak of science where, and only where, there is the possibility of objective argumentation concerning a stated idea or opinion." This broad sense of the scientific avoids any sharp distinction between the natural sciences and the humanities. For it may be that the historian, the archaeologist, the art critic and the theologian are as truly engaged in "objective argumentation" as the mathematician, the physicist or the chemist. Professor Nygren's concept of objective argumentation thus seems to promise an illuminating connexion between the natural sciences and theology. But unfortunately the key term "objective" is not defined with any precision and as a result the concept as a whole remains somewhat vague. Indeed, this is by no means the only point at which lack of rigour reduces the value of an otherwise important book.

Starting with the criterion of objective argumentation, the first half of the book seeks to determine the nature of philosophy in general as a scientific discipline, without any specific restriction to the philosophy of religion. Historically, philosophy has consisted of two strands, one scientific and the other speculative and imaginative. The formation of metaphysical worldviews is not scientific but is to be regarded as a kind of conceptual poetry. But philosophy can be genuinely scientific as the analysis of presuppositions. The presuppositions with which, according to Professor Nygren, philosophy is concerned are not the "absolute presuppositions" of a given cultural epoch, about which Collingwood wrote, but "logically necessary fundamental presuppositions".

Starting from the statements of ordinary life, the sciences, and religion, philosophy uncovers the presuppositions upon which the meaning of these statements depends. These are logically necessary in that they are implied by the lower-level statements which presuppose them. To exhibit these presuppositions is a scientific activity, since "one can argue entirely objectively concerning the presuppositions involved in a judgment". It is of the essence of Professor Nygren's view that the philosopher is only concerned to establish clearly what the ultimate presuppositions of our thoughts are, not to undertake any critical inquiry concerning their truth or falsity, probability or improbability, plausibility or implausibility. Indeed Professor Nygren believes that such appraisals are impossible. For the validity of our presuppositions consists precisely in their giving meaning to the realm of discourse which depends upon them. They are not true or false in themselves, but valid or invalid according as they are or are not necessary presuppositions of some segment of language.

Thus Professor Nygren is (as he is aware) adopting a notion akin to Wittgenstein's conception of language games: each area of life and language has its own autonomous rules and operates within its own presuppositions, from which its utterances draw their meaning and validity. Instead of language games, however, Professor Nygren prefers to speak of contexts of meaning:

> The reality with which philosophy is confronted and by which it is challenged to engage in critical analysis, is therefore this: there are as a matter of experience vast contexts, scientific, religious, socio-ethical, aesthetic. What is it that gives them coherence, makes them contexts, and so gives them meaning?

If philosophy is the analysis of presuppositions in the different areas of human experience, the philosophy of religion is this activity in relation to religion. Its task is, Professor Nygren says, "to subject the religious context of meaning to philosophical analysis, or in other words to elucidate the ultimate presuppositions that are determinative of meaning in the religious context". This, as the author insists throughout, is a purely analytical and descriptive task, not in any way normatively critical.

Theology can also be a scientific subject. However, it differs from the philosophy of religion both in scope and in method. Theology has to do with one or other of the positive religions rather than with religion in general. Here Professor Nygren makes considerable use of the notion of motifs. Each faith has its own distinctive motifs, and the study of theology is thus a form of "motif research"—presumably a branch of the history of ideas. (As an example of motif research one could point to Professor Nygren's own earlier work on two basic motifs within the history of Christianity, the hellenistic Eros motif and the Agape motif of the primitive Church.) In method, theology is more purely phenomenological than the philosophy of religion, in that it is not concerned to uncover hidden presuppositions but only to describe existing beliefs. The theologian's "sole task is to give an objective account of the content of the Christian faith".

All this is spelled out in *Meaning and Method* at immense length; and it must be said that the book is much too long. If it had been half its present length its narrower compass might have constrained Professor Nygren to a precision which is lacking in the work as it stands. It is conceived on the grand scale, and prompts the reader to think on the same scale; and to that extent it is valuable. And it embodies very considerable learning in both ancient and modern philosophy and theology. Yet in spite (or perhaps because) of its multitude of words many of its fundamental positions remain unclear and a number of basic difficulties unfaced.

For example, philosophy is defined as the *analysis* of presuppositions. But Professor Nygren says nothing directly about the nature of such "presuppositional analysis", and gives no examples of it. Most of the book suggests that what he has in mind is the *identifying* of presuppositions. Indeed although Professor Nygren repeatedly uses the word "analysis" it is far from clear that it is appropriate. Again, the only instance which he offers of an ultimate presupposition is the concept of the eternal, which he claims is "the basic presupposition of the religious context of meaning". This example indicates that he means by a presupposition, not a belief which is presupposed to be true, but a concept or category of thought which is used in the formation of beliefs.

It is typical of the diffuse character of Professor Nygren's discussion that this important point should emerge only by inference towards the end of the book. It is also, unfortunately, typical that the point is directly at variance with much that he has said earlier, where ultimate presuppositions are regarded and referred to as being propositional. Again, there is a further confusion about the nature of ultimate presuppositions in passages in which Professor Nygren speaks in a much more traditionally Kantian manner of the universal categorial conditions of the possibility of experience as such. He says, for example, that "Nothing can be validly regarded as a philosophical principle or ultimate presupposition unless it can be shown that experience and validity as such are impossible without its being presupposed". But how the concept of the eternal, for instance, fits this requirement is not indicated, or even considered.

A basic problem concerning Professor Nygren's conception of the philosophy of religion is that there is no place within it for the question of truth. To be scientific about religious assertions is to treat them neutrally, as phenomena to be examined for their hidden presuppositions. But to consider the truth or falsity of these presuppositions is expressly excluded. Ontology and metaphysics—theories about how things ultimately are—are dismissed as conceptual poetry. And yet our ultimate presuppositions may well be metaphysical; for example, the concept of the reality of God is an important presupposition of theistic language. Is there to be no consideration of grounds for affirming or rejecting such a concept? Without any rational criticism of its ultimate premises the philosophy of religion becomes a relatively trivial exercise, with nothing to say about the most important questions of human concern.

Another problem concerns Professor Nygren's view of theology. In order to be scientific, Christian theology must confine itself to describing the content of Christian belief. But this presupposes that Christian belief is complete and static. In fact it is a history of continuous growth and change, and the work of the great theologians has been creative rather than purely descriptive. It has been their momentous task to influence the development of the Christian faith. But if the theologian, in order to be scientific, is to restrict himself to describing the current state of theology, his more important and creative role will have to be undertaken by someone else.

Thus the result of Professor Nygren's stipulations would be that the most important rational reflections about religion, and the most creative thinking about the meaning of the Christ event, would cease to be called the philosophy of religion and theology respectively. This might perhaps not matter very much; but what would be the gain?

Dilemmas of faith

KARL RAHNER :
Theological Investigations
Volume 7. Further Theology of the Spiritual Life: 1
Translated by David Bourke
302pp. £3.50.
Volume 9. Writings of 1965-67: 1
Translated by Graham Harrison
268pp. £4.
Darton, Longman and Todd.

The ambitious project of publishing Karl Rahner's theological essays in ten instalments is now nearing completion. As in the case of their predecessors, volumes seven and nine are collections of scattered essays and addresses with a similar theme, rather than systematic studies. They are, though, as one has come to expect, full of insights that spring from a genuine concern to reconcile a classical theology with the realities of the world in which we live. Much is repetitive and long-winded, as indeed must often be the case when a book is made up of writings that were not originally designed as parts of a coherent whole.

The four sections of Volume Seven are "Fundamental Questions", "Mysteries of the Life of Jesus", "The Sacrament of the Lord", and "Christian Virtues". Volume Nine is divided into three sections, "The Shape of Contemporary and Future Theology", "The Doctrine of God and Christology", and "Theological Anthropology".

The first chapter of Volume Seven, "Christian Living Formerly and Today" reflects the seriousness of purpose which at every point illuminates theological writing so sensitive to the dilemmas of faith. We are always conscious of a theologian who has set his mind—and heart—against the aridities of a theology that ignores the human equation it should seek to solve.

THE HISTORY OF IDEAS—5

The models and the methods to come

BY PETER BURKE

CULTURAL HISTORY might be described as the history of the beliefs, artefacts and values of a social group, and of the place of those beliefs, artefacts and values in its way of life. Two celebrated books which answer to this definition are Burckhardt's *Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860) and Huizinga's *Waning of the Middle Ages* (1919). Both were translated into English soon after they first appeared, and they have sold well ever since. All the same, the English have been reluctant to practise this kind of history, and reluctant to teach it in universities. The reasons for this suspicion are complex. To study them in detail would itself be a fascinating piece of cultural history.

One of the most obvious reasons is the persistence of the traditional attitude that, as Gibbon put it, "war and the administration of public affairs are the principal subjects of history", and that other human activities are less worthy of the historian's attention, beneath what used to be called "the dignity of history". The phrase may have gone out of currency, but the attitude still has its defenders today.

A second reason for suspicion of cultural history is the traditional English empiricist distrust of grand abstract categories. The cultural historian runs the risk of taking concepts like "Baroque" from art history and imposing them on the whole life of a given society; he runs the risk of treating cultures as organisms. Spengler cheerfully accepted these risks, describing himself as the "biographer" of cultures which grew, matured, and died, impelled by an inner necessity. Few English historians have wanted to follow him, or to deal with vague abstractions like the "spirit of the age".

The difference between these two attitudes is an important one. The first excludes art history, the history of science, and so on as unimportant in themselves, allowing the historian to concern himself with the Foreign Office but not the Royal Academy or the Royal Society. The second attitude accepts the history of art or science but excludes any general history of culture; it accepts the specialist but excludes the historical general practitioner.

The first of these attitudes has become much weaker in recent years. It is very much easier to study art history, intellectual history, and the history of science in English universities than it was even ten years ago. So this seems a good moment to reopen the debate on the general history of culture, to ask whether the cultural unity of an age is no more than a myth, whether an historical GP is needed alongside the specialist historians of painting or physics, and whether he can avoid the dangers of the organic analogy and of labels like "the age of the Baroque".

The problem has rarely been discussed with as much penetration and wit as it was by Johan Huizinga himself. Huizinga was well aware of the danger of using general terms like "Renaissance" or "Gothic", the danger that these terms will develop a life of their own. "The prayer of the cultural historian ought to be '. . . and deliver us from anthropomorphism, Amen!'" At the same time, he was convinced that the history of the separate arts and sciences was not enough. He believed that the cultural historian should be concerned with morphology, with patterns of culture. "Culture", he wrote, "exists only as a configuration." It was such a configuration that he described in *The Waning of the Middle Ages*: religious and secular symbolism, attitudes to love and death, and so on. Was Huizinga simply inconsistent? Did he fall into the trap he had warned others to avoid? Can one have morphology without anthropomorphism?

To answer this question it might be good tactics to start not from a grand general concept like "Renaissance" but from actual men working in a particular city at a particular time—the painters of fifteenth-century Florence, say. Can one understand these men and their artefacts by looking at the history of painting alone? In a famous essay, Aby Warburg showed that one could understand Botticelli better by considering him together with his acquaintance Poliziano. Both men were concerned with the theme of the birth of Venus, both were interested in rendering the movement of hair and draperies in their respective media. Again, it has often been pointed out that there are parallels between the religious paintings and the mystery plays of fifteenth-century Florence, which is not surprising since the painters saw the plays, the performers saw the paintings, and both painters and performers shared the same faith, went to the same sermons, and walked in the same processions. Again, from Alberti to Vasari, the men who wanted to write about Florentine painting found that they could best do so by borrowing the language of other activities—the language of rhetoric-books, courtesy-books, and even books on the dance. If Botticelli and Vasari did not respect the frontiers between disciplines, then to understand them we shall have to be interdisciplinary ourselves.

Fifteenth-century Florence was not exceptional in these respects. It often happens that the arts are associated in performance, and it often happens that innovators in physics or biology or economics or even the writing of history do so by borrowing ideas from other disciplines. The standards of taste of an individual or group often cut across the arts, so that a liking for a particular kind of poem is associated with a liking for a particular kind of garden. One of the achievements of Arthur Lovejoy was to demonstrate this for eighteenth-century England. The demonstration would not have surprised Pope, who once compared Shakespeare's plays to a Gothic castle, full of noble apartments and dark passages. To justify the activities of the cultural historian there is no need to treat cultures as organisms or to conjure up the spirit of an age.

Burckhardt and Huizinga exemplify what might be called the "classical" approach to cultural history, but an approach which was appropriate in 1860 and 1919 no longer seems altogether satisfactory in 1972. It may therefore be useful to isolate and discuss five trends in the writing of cultural history, all of which are likely to become more important in the next twenty years or so.

1. A greater emphasis on the social history of the arts and the social history of ideas. Burckhardt and Huizinga did not seriously discuss the question of which social groups participated in the Italian and Burgundian cultures which they described and evoked so well. Intentionally or unintentionally, they left the impression that these cultures were more homogeneous than they actually were. In fact there was a world of difference between the attitudes and values of a nobleman and an artisan, for example. One must not assume that every important social group in every society has a culture of its own, nor that subcultures do not influence one another, but historical research is likely to become increasingly concerned with these questions. There is likely to be more concern with the roles of "artist" and "writer" in different societies—whether they were high-status or low, amateur or professional, and whether the roles we call "architect" or "composer" were recognized at all.

Then there is the study of audiences, whose expectations often affect the form that a painting or play or book eventually takes, and who are not necessarily a cross-section of that particular society. It would be unwise for the historian to make a general contrast between English and French culture in the seventeenth century from a study of the values expressed in the drama without first asking whether the same kinds of people went to the theatre in the two countries (a problem which has already been the subject of research).

Again, the cultural historian needs to take an interest in censorship and what the censor is trying to suppress in a given society. He needs to look at patronage, not simply at the individual patrons of an individual artist or writer (an increasingly popular subject of research) but also at the balance of power between patron and artist at a particular time and at the patronage system as a whole. It may make a big difference to a painter whether he lives permanently in a king's household, takes his pictures to market, or becomes artist in residence at a modern university. At this point the cultural historian might, and increasingly will, turn to his colleagues in the sociology of art for a typology of patronage systems, to understand "his" society better by seeing what it does not do. One might hope for a similar cooperation between the historian of ideas and the sociologist of knowledge, between the heirs of Lovejoy and the heirs of Mannheim.

Finally, the social historian of culture is likely to be increasingly concerned with the social functions of ideas and artefacts, whether these functions are manifest or latent. For example, they will look at painting or architecture as magic, propaganda, or ideology. Miracle-working images and executions in effigy are well worth the attention of the cultural historian.

2. An increasing stress on popular culture. The beliefs, artefacts and values of the less educated interested Burckhardt and Huizinga very little, but they interest some contemporary historians very much. The student of folklore and the student of history are coming to discover that they have a good deal to learn from one another. The revival of interest in witch-beliefs is well known. Historians like Keith Thomas and Alan Macfarlane in England, Carlo Ginzburg in Italy, John Demos and William Monter in the United States have focused their attention on what peasants and craftsmen and their wives and children thought about

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witches, as opposed to the attitudes of the clergy and the magistrates. The study of rebellions and movements of protest by historians as different as Norman Cohn and E. J. Hobsbawm, Roland Mousnier and Boris Porchnev, has revealed a good deal about the attitudes and values of labouring men.

Historians of religion are coming to shift their emphasis from what people should believe (according to the official theology of the church of which they are members) to what they actually believe, a shift as revolutionary as the one from normative to descriptive linguistics. To understand Flemish culture in the later Middle Ages, we now have Toussaert's *Le Sentiment religieux en Flandre* to set beside Huizinga.

Robert Mandrou and Geneviève Bollême have studied popular literature in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially the so-called "Bibliothèque Bleue", little booklets bound in blue sugar-paper, sold at a low price and carried from village to village by pedlars. They show that almanacs, devotional works and stories of marvels were all popular but that technical works were almost non-existent. The peasant or craftsman read about Ogier the Dane, not about agriculture or shoemaking.

3. A greater use of quantitative methods. Neither Burckhardt nor Huizinga offered any statistics to support their generalizations. As they said themselves, they worked by intuition. Huizinga would have denounced the quantitative approach to cultural history as a terrible example of the "mechanization" of modern life. Nevertheless this approach is becoming more important, and is likely to continue to do so. A simple frequency count is the most common method. Thus one might count necessity-words in Machiavelli or fear-words in Tacitus in order to make points about the conscious or unconscious preoccupations of those writers. Or one might look at the dominant themes in a particular type of literature. M Mandrou looks at 450 titles from the "Bibliothèque Bleue" and classifies 120 as devotional, 40 as historical, and so on.

More ambitious and more hazardous is the attempt made by David McClelland and his assistants to discover the stress placed on achievement in different cultures by counting the frequency of "achievement images" in literature, for example in the literature of sixteenth-century England. This approach is likely to become more sophisticated as well as more widely used in the next twenty years. Cultural historians are likely to make increasing use of content analysis, which has been defined as "a technique which aims at optimum objectivity, precision and generality in the analysis of symbolic behaviour". It was developed by students of propaganda in the Second World War, but is capable of wider applications.

A good many English historians are likely to wonder whether these developments are to be welcomed or condemned. The answer to their question is surely "neither"—without reservations. It is important that cultural historians should be able to avoid two opposite dangers. The danger for those who adopt quantitative methods might be called "the illusion of objectivity", or "specious accuracy". The categories "achievement image" or even "devotional book" are of course not given but imposed on the material. On the borders between categories necessarily arbitrary decisions have to be taken. If sampling is used, it is difficult to ensure that the sample is representative, particularly if some of the total "universe" of material has been lost. From evidence about the relative frequency of words or images to conclusions about attitudes and values, there is a difficult jump.

If it is dangerous to rely on counting, it is surely still more dangerous not to count at all. The cultural historian, like other historians, cannot do without implicitly quantitative statements, even if they are only vague ones using terms like "trend", "typical", "more", "less", "rising", "falling". He needs some basis for these statements. *The Waning of the Middle Ages* suggests that there was more preoccupation with death, more pessimism in the later Middle Ages than there had been earlier, a quantitative assertion without a quantitative basis. It is true that a man who has studied a field for twenty years may have a good idea what is typical or the way the trend is going without having counted anything; but memory plays odd tricks, like emphasizing the remarkable at the expense of the ordinary, so that it is just as well to confirm one's intuitions. In short, the cultural historian must avoid treating content analysis as magic (white or black); must count more often but not take the results too seriously; use quantitative methods to complement more traditional approaches, not as a substitute for them.

4. A greater emphasis on cultural change. Burckhardt and Huizinga have often been criticized for presenting too static a picture of the cultures they described. No doubt this defect has something to do with the fact that they were pioneers. If culture is a configuration, the patterns are difficult enough to seize at a given moment, let alone when they are changing. Once descriptions of the configuration at different times have been made, it is easier to attack the problem of the mechanisms and causes of change, in beliefs, values and artefacts. This moment seems to have arrived. A well-known recent model of intellectual change is that provided by T. S. Kuhn in his *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, with its emphasis on three stages—the construction of a general theory or paradigm, the attempt to assimilate discordant information, and the eventual construction of a new paradigm. The value of this model is not limited to the history of science alone. It draws the attention of the cultural historian to the neglected middle phase; to Columbus trying to fit the fact of America into his paradigm of a three-continent world, or a fourteenth-century preacher trying to accommodate the townsmen in his paradigm of the three estates of clergy, nobles and peasants.

Another approach to cultural change is a more sociological one; an interest in the way in which social change, urbanization for example, leads to changes in values and so to other cultural changes. The way in which this may happen is beautifully illustrated by Daniel Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society*, which is concerned with changes in the Middle East over the past generation. The cultural historian can rarely adopt Mr Lerner's methods (questionnaire and interview) but he is likely to find his imagination stimulated by the book all the same.

5. In the next twenty years it is likely that cultural historians will show more interest than they have done in structuralism, in a relatively narrow sense of that term. If "structuralism" means an interest in intellectual, political or social structures or systems, an interest in the way in which the parts form a whole, then it is nothing new for the professional historian. Huizinga, with his concern for "morphology" and "configurations", was clearly a structuralist in this sense; so was Namier; and so are such living French historians as Fernand Braudel and Pierre Chaunu, for whom *structure* is a favourite term. But if "structuralism" means something more precise, such as the method followed by Lévi-Strauss in his studies of myth, kinship and the "savage mind", then it is certainly something new for historians. Only a handful of them have published anything influenced by Lévi-Strauss, such as J. P. Vidal-Naquet's work on ancient Sparta, and Nathan Wachtel's on sixteenth-century Peru. Should other cultural historians follow their example? What have they to learn from structuralism?

The historians who might seem to have most to learn are those concerned with what the French call "histoire des mentalités" (and it may be revealing of our culture that there is no satisfactory translation of this phrase into English). It seems useful to distinguish "mentality" from "belief" or "attitude" by using the term to refer to something more fundamental than an individual opinion, to refer to what Mannheim used to call a "style of thought".

The problem of understanding an alien style of thought is a crucial one for historians, as well as for anthropologists. Thanks to Lévi-Strauss, historians may come to focus more closely than they have done on codes rather than messages, on categories rather than content, to show more interest in the way in which men in a given society classify their information, structure their world, or use and interpret signs. Thus Wachtel has studied the classification of space and time in Poma de Ayala's chronicle of Peru, written in the early seventeenth century. Nearer home, Michel Foucault has approached the history of biology in a similar way, suggesting that Aldrovandi was not a more credulous man than Buffon, nor a worse observer; he simply classified the world of nature according to a different system.

There is an irony here in that Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre learnt some of these same lessons from reading Lévy-Bruhl, a man with a very different approach to the "savage mind" from that of Lévi-Strauss. However it is learnt, the lesson is surely an important one. The cultural historian needs to be able to use the categories of the men he is studying, to look for their logic instead of imposing his own.

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All right for some

MAURICE ANDRIEUX :

Daily Life in Venice at the Time of Casanova

232pp. Allen and Unwin. £3.75.

The myth of Venice as a *città galante* is an extraordinarily powerful one. "Her days were a pageant of rapture and fantasy", writes Maurice Andrieux. Venice in the eighteenth century was "an enchanted place of serenading, masquerade and pleasure". He goes on to give the reader a smoothly conducted tour of the main sights, the best-known individuals and institutions of the period—Goldoni, the doges, Carnival, Tiepolo, *villeggiatura*, the opera, the Gozzi brothers, *cicisbeatura*, informers, convents, courtesans, and Caterina Dolfin Tron. There are twenty illustrations, of which the nineteenth represents Piazza S Marco but is captioned "the Piazzetta". *Daily Life in Venice at the Time of Casanova* is easy to read but it is very much the mixture as before, popularizing a subject which has been popularized already, notably by Pompeo Molmenti and by Philippe Monnier, on whose study M Andrieux draws heavily for examples and quotations. He relies mainly on secondary sources, but seems unacquainted with much of the more recent research, such as the work of Beltrami and Berengo on the social structure and of Francis Haskell on art patronage.

The merits and defects of this description of Venice are much like those of the accounts of eighteenth-century travellers, such as Charles de Brosse—accounts of which M Andrieux makes considerable use. What they see they describe vividly, but they do not see the whole of Venice. We are shown the façades but not what lies behind them, we learn how money was spent but not how it was made, we are taken down the Grand Canal but not down the side-streets. The reader will in fact learn little about the daily life of the majority of the population of Venice. In his chapter on "Love and Women", M Andrieux can even describe how working-class parents sold their daughters into prostitution without a comment on the necessity behind it—the decline of Venetian trade and industry (thanks in part to English competition) and the consequent fall in the incomes of the craftsmen. Their life was not one of rapture or of pleasure. The myth of the *città galante* was good business for a city whose inhabitants were coming to rely more and more on the tourist trade, but it is not good history.

Into the last golden twilight?

J. H. HEXTER :

The History Primer

399pp. Allen Lane The Penguin Press. £4.50.

FRANK E. MANUEL :

Freedom from History

290pp. New York University Press: University of London Press. £5.80.

A. R. BRIDBURY :

Historians and the Open Society

180pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £2.50.

GORDON CONNELL-SMITH and HOWELL A. LLOYD :

The Relevance of History

144pp. Heinemann Educational. £1.90.

ROBERT ULICH :

Progress or Disaster ?

224pp. New York University Press: University of London Press. £3.95.

J. H. PLUMB :

In the Light of History

274pp. Allen Lane The Penguin Press. £3.50.

NORMAN E. CANTOR (Editor) :

Perspectives on the European Past

736pp. Collier-Macmillan. £5.40.

It is possible to say that the *philosophes* of the eighteenth century were "unhistorical"—basing so many of their judgments on a kind of anachronism—but that they made a first-class contribution to the development of historiography by their secularizing of the providential plan of the centuries, their transformation of this into what they called a "philosophy of history". They used the idea of progress in order to give meaning and direction to the course of centuries and they helped to develop the notion that time itself could be a generative thing. There was something noble in the way they went ahead discovering the laws of history before they had established the real possibility of such laws, or acquired sufficient data for the proper eliciting of them. In a sense they were like H. G. Wells, applying the science of their period and the current common sense to the skeleton story of all the ages. At that date, this was the most serviceable thing they could do; though, from the Göttingen school until the protests of Ranke against Hegel, academic historians set themselves against the philosophers, primarily because these latter did not take care that their "generalizations"—the larger lines of history—should proceed out of an intimate knowledge of details.

Historians have not inquired very thoroughly into the question of the sources of their own hypotheses and hunches, indeed into that strange, dim land from which their assumptions at a given date happened to take their rise. If they did so they might feel more grateful on the one hand to the philosophers, on the other hand to the philosophy of history. Before the end of the nineteenth century, men like Dilthey helped to produce what might be called a development of the historical consciousness itself, this at a time when something was to be achieved by insisting on the important differences between history and the natural sciences. In recent decades the philosophers have turned their attention to the exposition of what is involved in "historical explanation" and here they have a contribution to make, though sometimes they are not sufficiently interested in the history that historians write, betraying the fact, for instance, by the poverty of the examples they use, as well as by a certain dimness in their treatment of these. Sometimes they have been men unable even to read Ranke, or to imagine that the mere recovery of the past can be a contribution to knowledge, or to see that narrative as such is anything better than mere "antiquarianism".

J. H. Hexter, in what he calls his *Primer*, enters this last debate, though he does not claim to be a philosopher or insist that he is treating of knowledge as the philosopher would define it. He plants history in the realm of common language and common sense, seeing it as a form of knowledge continually used in the conduct of life, knowledge certified because it actually works, and because human beings are betting heavily on it all the time. By examining the various kinds of truthful answer which a boy might make to the question, "Why did you come home all covered with mud?", Professor Hexter is able to decide on the proper meaning to put upon the historical question "Why?". The question ought to read: "What series of connected intentions, decisions, and actions, your own or others', in conjunction with what situations and accidents brought you into contact with a lot of mud today?". The author reminds us that, from early childhood, all of us are compelled to accustom ourselves to this form of exercise. We are "put through historical-explanation drills of considerable stiffness . . . long before we run into drills in reading, writing, and arithmetic". All of us, whether we are to become scholars or not, are all the time building up a "whole range of experiential and personal knowledge by which men live"; and upon this every historian must draw before he can make any single statement about the past.

Professor Hexter studies the story of the Tacoma Narrows Bridge which on November 7, 1940 (after being open for only 130 days), "destroyed herself, not by galloping or undulating as she had been doing without peril for several months but by going into an uncontrollable convulsive twist"—what is described as "the suicide of Galloping Gertie". An initial account of all this in a report of 1941 is shown to have been essentially a piece of history, and it is to be distinguished from the report of 1952, an engineer's final verdict—really a treatise on suspension bridges in general, and intended to serve the future rather than to recover the past, though it will always need some mention in any future historical narrative. Turning to baseball, Professor Hexter argues that, given the question, "Why did the Yankees win the pennant in 1939?", any historian worth his salt would interpret this as meaning: "In 1939 what gave the Yankees [so great] a superiority over their nearest rivals?" In other words it is a question that calls not for historical story-telling but for general analysis. But if we are asked, "Why did the Giants win the pennant in 1951?", we cannot meet the case by reference to general laws, we must learn all the circumstances relating to a certain hit very late in the final game. This time it is only narrative that will meet the case.

Professor Hexter insists that, in any event, "history is not necessarily and not always directly concerned with explanation". We cannot ignore the fact that, throughout the ages, the historian has had the prime duty of recovering the past, discovering what happened, even showing what people were like, this last being itself partly the explanation of why things happened as they did. Smiling, exuberant, and at worst like someone who says everything that comes into his head, this author speaks at least to historians, and, having learnt something from the philosophers, presents these with something which they in turn ought to take into account. And he can draw his prose tightly together when he comes to the subtle places in his argument.

Frank E. Manuel deals with topical discussions concerning the nature of history, approving the use of psychology, for example, though specifying at the same time some of the dangers of this. He holds that "scientistic history" can be an evasion and that confinement to a recent past or to a future that is no more than an "exercise in graphed extrapolation" is really "nothing but another form of bondage to the present". Against Mr Dry-as-Dust, however, and against all the enemies of Toynbee, he vindicates the philosophers of history from the time of Vico, for he regards these as "the great vivifiers of actual historical writing". He admits that they are often time-bound, writing for a purpose; and he refuses to agree to the principle that a philosophy of history is to be accepted or rejected in toto. But these people stimulate thought and activate the historical imagination—they "should be defended, as renovators of historical perception". Indeed, "it is their empirical observations rather than their structure-building which I have found intellectually most rewarding".

Mr Dry-as-Dust is too "self-righteous"; for, once a publisher's contract is secured, "he latches on to the first generality that comes to hand":

> When you next open your favourite text-book, scan it for its philosophico-historical generalizations, count up how many mutilated borrowings there are from Herder and Condorcet, Marx and Toynbee, when the author is not parading a crude bit of manifest destiny, *grandeur de la France*, chosen people, tight little island or democratic values. . . . We read the philosophers of history, plagiarize them, and then damn them in public.

These writers seize upon new combinations in history and "their luxuriant flow of analogies contains metal far more precious than the ultimate object of their quest". It is from his empirical studies that Toynbee produces, for example, "his description of common elements in frontier societies, his analysis of the Levantine personality throughout the ages, his depiction of the syndromes of disintegration"; and these are the kind of things that become fertilizers in their turn. Professor Manuel has both *flair* and imagination, and his new volume includes further essays in fields already familiar to him—Newton, the Enlightenment, Utopias and Henri de Saint-Simon.

A. R. Bridbury, writing on *Historians and the Open Society*, likes to carry the attack against people, and tilts against the whole tribe of economic historians; but in reality he is raising a question about the nature of historical study. He

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regards himself as extending to a new field the criticisms of that Whig interpretation of history which has suffered a serious resurgence since the rise of the United States to intellectual leadership, the spread of historical study to broader classes of people, and the development of political controversy into something more like a conflict between classes. In Dr Bridbury's view,

> the concept of success insinuates itself into the historian's mind, where it thrives to such effect that eventually success becomes the touchstone of his scale of values. From the point where the historian recognizes greatness and rejoices to see it succeed, the descent is steep and rapid to the point where he sees success and calls it greatness, and to the further point where he discovers that overwhelming power is its own justification.

The best of historians is in danger of looking at history at times only from the wrong end, forgetting that for those really involved in the story—for men of action looking towards the future—all the lines of the picture must run in a different direction. Without intending to do it, and without being aware of what he is doing, the historian may easily slip into the ratification of whatever has been successful in the past, just as he may so easily regard an event as having been inevitable, for no other reason save that it was the thing that actually happened. At the bottom of his heart Dr Bridbury knows that he is dealing with a perversity that lies at the very core of historiography, for he admits that the historians whom he blames are contradicting the much more liberal views that they support in the world of contemporary issues. But it is better fun for him to attack the Englishmen who in 1966 celebrated the Norman Conquest—attack them for palpably supporting William I against the Anglo-Saxons—and similarly to condemn economic historians en masse for always being on the side of the rampant capitalist, the expanding organization, the high-powered state. It is unfortunate that his reasoning does in fact become particularly thin and weak when he is purporting to answer the argument that the drive to higher forms of organization is the thing which has made it possible for vaster populations to be kept alive in the world.

He is perhaps at his best in one of his own favourite fields, where he calls for a better understanding of feudalism, and remarks how, in a certain sense, "the Dark Ages were not a long night but a tremendous liberation". He notes that, at the winding-up of the feudal system, peasants "must have wondered whether reform was not harder to endure than serfdom". Certainly he is interested in meditating on the process of things in time, and he quotes D. H. Robertson: "From some points of view the whole cycle of industrial change presents the appearance of the perpetual immolation of the present upon the altar of the future." He quotes also the interesting passage from William James about "the invisible molecular forces that work from individual to individual, stealing in through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets or like the capillary oozing of water". His last chapter is almost a hymn to "liberal democracy", but even now he refuses to be caught out; he says that even this, "with its mass electorate, is not less susceptible to political madness than other systems of government".

The demand for relevance

The problem now so notorious in the educational realm—the one which concerns the "relevance" of history—invites reflection upon the nature of the whole study, but Gordon Connell-Smith and Howell A. Lloyd, dealing with this theme, seem to prefer to fight with rougher weapons. The subject must establish its relevance or it will decline, they say. The younger generation are demanding this, as "part of a general challenge to the establishment". The continuance of present methods of teaching would justify a less favourable ratio of staff to teachers than exists at present. In any case, the professional approach to history "became obsolete long ago", and, "in practice" it is turning the subject into a "soft option". Indeed "the duties of academics have been sacrificed for too long upon the altar of research"; and "the professional historian who spends a great part of his career in extracting the maximum number of 'facts' from manuscripts is ill-fitted to discourage his students from . . . compiling large quantities of information . . . from books".

In the educational field, discussion ought always to be kept lively, and we can agree that history should never be merely a lecturing-subject, nor should the teaching of it be "information-orientated". Too intense a concentration on a narrow period may be educationally unfortunate; and students certainly may suffer if the teaching staff concentrate too much on their own researches. But the ablest of the young ought to be taught by the greatest scholars—by the men who can keep their knowledge fluid because they are so familiar with the actual processes of its production. If Dr Connell-Smith and Dr Lloyd insist, some students would no doubt be happier with a person whose gifts were merely expository; and this might be creative in a different way, though the root of much of our trouble lies in the fact that there are not sufficient inspired teachers to go round. We may agree with the authors when they seem to insist that the teaching and programme for the making of a professional historian should not displace those broader non-professional objectives for the sake of which history gained its position as a teaching subject in the first place. Indeed, we might go farther, to the point to which the authors seem to decline to move, and say that if school teachers would take the lead and really decide what is the kind of history to teach to sixth-formers intending to go straight out into the world, this would be an opportunity for something really creative. In its results it would prove wisest at the same time for students going to the university, wisest even for those intending to be professional historians.

The Relevance of History is particularly weak, however, when it comes to the actual treatment of the problem of relevance. What is advocated is "not contemporary history as such", nor is it claimed that a medieval field will necessarily be lacking in relevance; the fundamental requirement seems to be a thing which one would have expected everybody to applaud: namely some correspondence with "the intellectual needs of living men". We are told that the young must study the "interpretations made of [Magna Carta] by John's immediate successors (and their opponents) and by later generations of politicians and lawyers in England and North America". All this looks like the history that was taught in some universities fifty years ago, before the insistence on short periods had cut out so many of the things that make good teaching material—the history taught at a time when some devices of intellectual mediation made even Byzantium and Islam often interesting to the young.

And when Dr Connell-Smith tells us that the experience of the Russian Revolution has greatly enhanced the historian's understanding of the French Revolution, once again it is not the scholars of fifty years ago who would disagree. It is true at the highest level that some new chapters of experience in the second half of the twentieth century might bring some unexpected illumination to a thing that happened centuries ago. Of course, if the one piece of exposition that has to be omitted on the ground of irrelevance is the meaning of Magna Carta in the actual reign of John, here for the first time is something that would surely rank as an innovation. And Dr Connell-Smith makes us wonder when, besides omitting just this from his list, he dismisses the whole issue with the remark that the Charter "had little enough significance for most of the people who were alive when it was signed".

Robert Ulich, in *Progress or Disaster?*, is so bent upon his prophetic function that he carries theory to an extreme, and almost disconnects himself from ordinary history, though producing insights that once had a lot of history behind them. His work runs even to an unusual preoccupation with preaching, for he believes that "the ever increasing spatial proximity and interdependence of men can turn into disaster [unless it has been preceded by] adequate moral preparation". He admits that in a certain sense his work is "autobiographical", for he says "there is little in it that I do not remember personally", and he talks even of his "intense participation in the period of deceptive security before World War I". Though anti-dogmatic, he is deeply concerned with religion, and thinks that society, like the individual, "can mature only if it has no illusions about the dark powers that lurk in the recesses of men's souls".

In this connexion he presents a point that may be significant; namely, that "to make human beings humane more is necessary than religion". On page 170 he says "we will discuss the characteristics of the creative personality", but at this moment he merely tumbles his bag of intuitions on to the table and offers us too much of a miscellany. He looks for salvation particularly to schools, but holds that "in periods of stress, political and otherwise, the teaching profession has fallen disappointingly short of the ideals proclaimed in time of security". His conclusion seems to be that "Western culture, with all its greatness, is now in danger because of its imbalance between operational knowledge and real wisdom, its self-alienation from nature, and also because of its arrogant isolation from the interests of other continents".

History without a philosophy

The volume of essays by J. H. Plumb shows no sign of any philosophy of history, and this may explain why his thought (and even sometimes his prose) can lack a certain resonance. Where he presents his opinions he is so satisfied to be in tune with prevailing trends that he loses the possibility of useful tensions—loses the music of a stream breaking against an obstruction—becoming something of a Whig historian in his wider surveys. He offers the reader a plentiful supply of curious information, and his choice of subjects, which includes genealogy, astrology, the family, Bedlam, games and clothes—is nothing less than entrancing.

Professor Plumb's papers vary in style: now a learned article in due form; now reviews of books which communicate new attitudes to such things as the slavery problem; now essays on such topics as women and children in history, which in spite of his characteristic commentary read almost like encyclopedia articles. It looks as though he has been true to the dreams of youth, for in spite of his technical accomplishments, he is really at his best as a literary historian, and his preface reveals him as trying to reach "the greatest possible public". When he casts care aside and writes on "The Royal Porcelain Craze" or "The World of Samuel Pepys"—or even on "Henry Fielding and the Rise of the Novel"—his descriptive power and at times his delicacy of touch show that he possesses the most enviable gift of all. At a happy moment he declares, as an inspired bachelor: "There is something to be said for the view that childhood is like a physical blemish, best ignored whenever possible."

In *Perspectives on the European Past*, Norman E. Cantor has divided the course of history from prehistoric times into thirty-two sections, and then has provided for the reader the appropriate expert (roughly speaking) for each. To some people it might seem a shameful thing to accept so much history in so potted a form, and the reading of such a work might seem as disreputable as using a crib. But one foolish person has read the whole of its more than 700, double-columned, tightly packed pages, and found the experience a pleasurable one; and the experiment must have been very interesting for the editor. The basis of the volume lies in tape-recorded interviews, lasting from three to five hours, the expert being allowed to see a list of questions beforehand if he wished, but this list not being in any sense a commitment, opportunity being left to follow up any problem that might arise during the course of the conversation. For readers who in past decades acquired some familiarity with certain of the fields under discussion, it will be useful that the form of procedure often puts a spotlight on just the points of recent advance.

All the same, the fact that these are basically conversations is the really important thing. The questioner can secure, for example, that the expert shall say how he came to take up his particular subject, or shall begin by discussing the recent historiography of it. Also the main speakers can be less formal—and certainly less tied to the curriculum—than when writing for publication; and they can be drawn in telling about things that happened in their own researches, or into discussing controversial points, or expounding recent discoveries. On occasion the conversation, after being conducted freely, has been so tidied up by contributor and editor that we are left with the impression that this is a piece of written work. But often one feels the ease of the conversational manner and sometimes—as when Sir Denis Brogan moves so rapidly and speaks so brilliantly off the cuff—the effect is as exhilarating as one could wish.

Professor Cantor tells us that because of the turmoil in the academic world, "the increasingly anti-intellectual tone of the undergraduate population", and the "attractiveness of the social and behavioral sciences", several of the scholars interviewed thought that "the historical profession had entered its last golden twilight". These men are seriously underestimating the power of that wider public which insists on knowing at the finish just what Montgomery did in the war, and whether President Nixon was really an honest man.

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The old poem itself

STANLEY B. GREENFIELD:

The Interpretation of Old English Poems

188pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £2.50.

This densely-packed study is the product of an experienced and discriminating Old English scholar, but it unfortunately falls short of achieving both parts of its declared aim—"to produce a 'handbook' for Old English critics *and students*" (reviewer's italics). What Stanley Greenfield has given us is a book not only for critics but also (in disquietingly large measure) about critics. Admittedly, any attempt to establish a "critical framework" must involve frequent reference to and engagement with other scholars' views, most notably those which (in the author's sturdy phrase) one is endeavouring to "proscribe". But such strategies in a relatively short book would produce an effect of academic introvertedness, even if one's style were less heavily weighed down by transatlantic verbal armour than is Professor Greenfield's (the pages clank with phrases like "ideational/dictional/contentual similarity" and "multitudinous and insightful linguistic-literary studies"). "Students", in short, by whom the author presumably intends beginners rather than experts, can scarcely fail to be repelled by Professor Greenfield's apparent reluctance to say straight out what he really thinks, when he undoubtedly has strong and interesting views on a variety of topics, ranging from formulaic diction to the problem of genre. Too often the book reads like an extended review of a bundle of recent and not-so-recent studies of Old English literary themes rather than an independent inquiry with a clearly formulated purpose.

One of the main reasons why Professor Greenfield fails in this part of his aim is that he never fulfils the promise embodied in his title and emphasized in his preface—to discuss "Old English *poems*—not *poetry*", to do justice to "the special nature, the unique identity, of particular poems". (He is fully aware of A. C. Spearing's example as regards Middle English texts in his book *Criticism and Medieval Poetry*, which he would have done well and wisely to follow.) Instead of devoting separate sections to whole poems, Professor Greenfield draws a shoal of examples into his finely reticulated nets of "Diction and Formula", "Variation", "The Play of Sound and Sense", "Verse Form, Syntax and Meaning" and "Generic Expectations and the Quest for Allegory". "Theme", a particular favourite at the present time, is deliberately omitted. Nearly always when he expresses his own thoughts on poetry, rather than aspirations towards "methodology" or benignant exasperation at the shortcomings of others' methodologies, Professor Greenfield is perceptive and illuminating. Of his own responses to the details of Old English literary art it cannot be said (in his words) that they "smell more of the single-minded scholar's lamp than of the multifoliate rose of the poetic imagination". His particular analyses command assent by their combination of good sense with a subtle feel for mood and tone and a close intimacy with the workings of the minds behind the apparently enigmatic words and images. Similarly, his apt use of modern examples, from Wordsworth and Browning to E. E. Cummings and Joseph Conrad, unfailingly strengthens his arguments about a poetry whose accessibility is at times as important to assert as its strangeness.

The positive achievement of this book is to help establish how far Old English poetry *can* benefit from "close reading" and how far the objections raised by the opponents of this approach, the "historicists" and the linguisticians, may be justified. Professor Greenfield shows in example after example how even a relatively rigid poetic tradition could be made flexible in the hands of men of genius like the *Beowulf*-poet (from whom many of the examples come). The freedom of the Old English poets (he cautiously sidesteps the allurements of a term like "originality") manifests itself in developments and modifications of both language and form which *can* be analysed in a way not necessarily leading to "that rancid solipsistic pit into which the major tendencies of post-romantic thought have thrust us" (the characteristically pugnacious phrasing is that of the arch-"historicist" D. W. Robertson). In this eminently worthwhile endeavour, Professor Greenfield brings to bear as much learning as judgment.

By always working on the healthy assumption that the poetry is likely to be good—can we but train ourselves to recognize its quality—Professor Greenfield blows away from the texts not only the dust of time but also the cobwebs spun by critics, in order to bring out the "new semantic lustre" of words, phrases and lines. He rightly insists that the modern reader *must* try to reconcile both past and present "meaning" (in the senses of both "signification" *and* "significance"). Pure "historicism" can be as rancid a pit as pure "subjectivism"; one way of looking may be monocular, the other colour-blind. Professor Greenfield's book is an encouragement to the critic both to refine his imaginative vision (and this requires an adequate critical machinery for recording what one sees), and also to subject it to the critique of informed common sense. Although in no way indulgent towards his own insights, Professor Greenfield displays remarkable tolerance towards approaches and conclusions he regards, usually with some justice, as wrong-headed or absurd, as in his courteous treatment of Huppé's ludicrously inaccurate reading of "Judith" 28-32, which concludes: "I am afraid this will never do as a model for interpretative validity." Whatever its limited usefulness for new students of the subject, Professor Greenfield's book is certainly, for critics, a "model" of modest tentativeness in the effort at "ascertaining *valid* meaning".

The scholastics reviewed

F. C. COPLESTON:

A History of Medieval Philosophy

399pp. Methuen. £4.

D. P. HENRY:

Medieval Logic and Metaphysics

133pp. Hutchinson University Library. £2.75 (paperback, £1.50).

A History of Medieval Philosophy is F. C. Copleston's fourth book on medieval philosophy, being an enlargement and revision of the *Medieval Philosophy* Home Study book of 1952; before that work there had appeared the second volume of the monumental *History of Philosophy* (1950) and after it there appeared the Pelican *Aquinas* (1955).

Father Copleston's scholarship, lucidity and urbanity have long been so well-known in and beyond the world of academic philosophy that there is no need for a reviewer to single out these features of the present work for special praise. What may be of more interest is a comparison of the latest volume with the corresponding volume in the larger history of philosophy in order to bring out the nature and direction of the evolution of Father Copleston's interest in the years 1950-72.

That the change has been substantial is clear from the very table of contents. While in the earlier work St Thomas Aquinas was given eleven chapters, nearly one-quarter of the whole volume, the present history polishes him off in twenty pages and makes him share a chapter with St Albert the Great. Islamic and Jewish philosophers on the other hand, who occupied less than four per cent of the earlier volume, are now dealt with in two substantial chapters totalling forty-odd pages. Clearly, the wind of change of the Second Vatican Council blows even through the pages of histories of philosophy.

The difference in scope and flavour between the two books is no doubt partly due to a difference in the public envisaged. The present work is a wide-ranging, semi-popular study; the earlier history, though it can now be purchased at airport bookstalls, was obviously written with the needs of college students, and especially seminarists, in mind. But it also appears that Father Copleston himself has been having second thoughts about the value of some of the classic scholastic doctrines. There is a world of difference between the embarrassed tone of his current references to the theory that God is his own Being and his former confident exposition of the idea that the divine name *He who is* signifies "the infinite ocean of substance".

In comparison with the good plain fare provided by Father Copleston, D. P. Henry's study is appetizing, scrappy and indigestible. Mr Henry believes that logic took a wrong turn when Frege applied his newly-invented device of quantification to the notion of existence. It is this that has stood in the way of a proper appreciation of medieval thinkers, and the way to get round the obstacle is to adopt the logic of the Polish logician S. Leśniewski ("Ontology") which dissociates the quantifiers from existence.

The first half of Mr Henry's book is an exposition of ontology (optimistically described as "easily grasped by all who have only the slightest acquaintance with the logic of propositions and the notion of quantification"); the second part uses this apparatus in a series of raids on problems of medieval philosophy (Anselm on paronymy, Ockham on *suppositio*, existential import, negation in Anselm and Burleigh, Scotus's formal distinction, Aquinas on being and essence and Anselm's ontological argument). The book is full of interesting and original suggestions and the problems it discusses are important and controversial; but it will disappoint anyone versed in contemporary logic who turns to it for illumination about the medievals, or anyone familiar with the scholastics who hopes to use it to come to terms with modern logic.

Henry I's stand-in

EDWARD J. KEALEY:

Roger of Salisbury

Viceroy of England

312pp plus 8 plates. University of California Press (IBEG). £6.10.

The reign of Henry I is now attracting fresh notice from historians who are discovering that it saw the beginnings of many important developments. It was a reign when ecclesiastical reforms were actively promoted, and vigorously resisted, when constitutional growth was marked by a notable charter of liberties, and, especially, when royal administration became more efficient than it had ever been before. Henry I did not create institutions, but he "raised men from the dust to do his service". And of these men none was more important than Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who is the subject of Edward Kealey's careful and scholarly monograph.

For many contemporaries, Roger's career was chiefly notable as exemplifying the fickleness of fortune. An obscure young clerk from Caen he came to England with Henry in 1100, and prospered so rapidly that in 1102 he was made Bishop of Salisbury. Thereafter his power steadily increased, until within four years of the death of his royal master he was ignominiously deprived of all his authority by King Stephen, and left to die in obscurity and disgrace.

It is tempting therefore to regard him as a mere creature of the monarchy. But his ecclesiastical career was not insignificant. He enlarged the fabric of his cathedral, and took part in the controversies surrounding the establishment in England of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. His interests were, however, essentially worldly. He married and had children, and if he was not an indiscriminate enemy of monks, he coveted the possessions of monasteries. He accumulated a vast treasure, and, through his influence, two of his nephews became, respectively, bishops of Lincoln and Ely. Dependent upon royal favour, he was, in fact, precisely the type of prelate to whom the Hildebrandine reformers were most opposed.

As a servant of the King, however, he left an abiding impression on England. The development of royal finance at this critical time was largely his work, and during Henry's frequent absences in Normandy, he acted as the chief agent of royal justice. Neither the history of the Exchequer nor that of the courts of law could in fact be written without some reference to him. His position is none the less not easy to define. At the height of his power he was "second only to the King", but "Viceroy" perhaps gives too precise an indication of his status, and even the later designation of "justiciar" might be inappropriate to one who exercised authority without any formal office in the royal service. Of the enduring importance of his work, though, there can be no doubt. Professor Kealey's book, with its appendix of charters, is to be welcomed as calling fresh attention to a notable medieval administrator, and to the secular consequences of his acts.

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G. THOMAS TANSELLE :

Guide to the Study of United States Imprints

Volume I : 403pp
Volume II : pp405-1,140.

Harvard University Press. London : Oxford University Press. £20 the set.

This is a work of monumental scholarly diligence. The main bulk of specialist research in this immensely broad field has taken place during the past half-century or so, and until now no comprehensive attempt has been made to record it. One might have expected that so massive a compilation would be entrusted to a team of workers; but not at all; G. Thomas Tanselle of the University of Wisconsin tackled it single-handed. The result is a reference tool for the service of research and an orderly manual for use in the identification, cataloguing and recording of individual pieces of printed matter. Moreover, Professor Tanselle modestly writes:

> A successful checklist is not merely a work to be consulted for information but also a nucleus around which additional information can be gathered ; it provides a framework into which the community of workers in a field can place further references in an organised fashion.

" Find the printing and record the imprints ", said Wilberforce Eames years ago, " and you will slowly but surely build up a dependable history of the press in any given locality." Although there are still many blank patches, the magnitude of the reference material that has already accumulated in conformity with that dictum can be measured by the mere bulk of these two volumes: George T. Watkins's *Bibliography of Printing in America*, published in 1906, occupied thirty-one pages, while Professor Tanselle now needs more than 1,000. A single instance of his thoroughness is sufficiently revealing: his entries for one minor category of information — Auctioneers' and Booksellers' Catalogues—run to close on 2,000 and occupy fifty pages.

Guide to the Study of United States Imprints opens with a spacious and excellent introduction and closes with an index of 150 double-columned pages (only *one* misprinted numeral has been noted). Its main body is divided into conveniently numbered sections—Regional lists, Genre lists, Author lists, Copyright records, Catalogues and Book-Trade directories—with (in the second volume) such supplementary studies as those on individual printers and publishers, general works and checklists of secondary material, and an appendix providing a basic list of 250 titles dealing with American printing and publishing, beginning with such omnibus standbys as Sabin, Wright Howes, and Evans with its various supplements. Professor Tanselle's thorough coverage, combined with his common sense in categorization and the practicality of arrangement, makes this an indispensable guide for scholars, librarians, antiquarian book dealers, collectors and others concerned with the history of printing and publishing in the United States—an area of interest nowadays increasingly recognized in this country as well as in his own.

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European Ex Libris 1950-70

176pp. Private Libraries Association. £6.

" The size of a bookplate ", said William M. Ivins, " is usually in inverse proportion to the owner's interest in books." The majority of owners of the 500 ex libris selected for reproduction here escape this anathema (a legitimate exception is made for the larger of Reynolds Stone's two fine designs for the Prince of Wales, which serves as frontispiece), but there are nevertheless at least fifty examples, mostly from the Continent, which would not look comfortable in a crown octavo, let alone a duodecimo. Yet Mark Severin and Anthony Reid assert flatly : " The writing of one's name in a book is sacrilege. The writing of anything else, unless it be an inscription by the author, is an abomination." To those who, though using book labels, nevertheless often write instead their names and the dates of acquisition on the free endpapers, and where appropriate add the places of purchase or " given me by so-and-so ", this must seem a natural partiality for a subject pushed to excess. Nor need we accept the injunction that an ex libris must always be placed in the centre of the front paste-down : it depends on the relationship between the size of the book and the size of the ex libris—a calligraphic label often looks better set high. But then the authors nowhere offer any firm distinction between these (of which they show a number) and bookplates in the more conventional sense, whether armorial, now out of fashion to judge by the specimens here, or pictorial, like a majority of the Continental examples and, among the English, the delicately beautiful work of Miss Joan Hassall.

Engraved Bookplates is, however, an excellent book, equally practical in content and arrangement for the collector, except for the annoying absence of design-dating, and for the person who has sometimes thought of having a bookplate for regular use but has not quite known how to go about it. There are chapters of guidance for both, a list of technical terms, another of bookplate societies, a select bibliography, and a comprehensive international gazetteer of about 400 practitioners, with their current addresses—so that anyone who already wanted, or is now inspired by the authors to want, to commission a bookplate needs only a rough idea of his requirements to get in touch with the artist of his choice in virtually any country in Europe (the authors rightly recognize Latvia and Estonia as independent political entities). They have restricted themselves to Europe because wider coverage would make any adequate display of illustration prohibitively expensive (some will wish they had included the United States), and to engravings because the results on wood or copper remain " the most generally esteemed ". They have focused on the period from 1950 to 1970 because it shows a living tradition—something which is going on now—and they can thus show something new: the majority of their examples have never been reproduced before. This deprives them (and us) of the work of Eric Gill and Rex Whistler, though an exception has been made for a couple of specimens of Stephen Gooden.

The main body of the book gives a critical conspectus of the artists of each group of countries, in ten chapters running from Britain to Austria, with half-a-dozen pages of reproductions—up to ten pages for Poland and eighteen pages for Czechoslovakia—and styles ranging from a simple calligraphic name-label by Leo Wyatt or Diana Bloomfield of Luckazewski's candid portrait of Leda and the Swan for Karl Potocki's " Bibliotheca Erotica " or John Buckland Wright's pair of copulating mermaids for Mr Severin himself.

The result is a rich variety of styles and subjects, some more and some less suitable to their specialized purpose, according to your taste and the kind of books on your shelves ; anyone who wants something really vulgar should look first among the Germans. Many people, one suspects, will consider, without necessarily any suspicion of chauvinism, that our own practitioners of this exacting art—aside from the technical delicacy needed, a bookplate ought to look like a bookplate rather than an engraving with a name stuck in—more than hold their own with their continental confrères ; and one may well concur in the authors' conclusion to their survey of the contemporary field that " finally, supreme among modern exponents, an artist whose use of the letter is shatteringly perfect, stands the unapproachable figure of Reynolds Stone ".

Engraved Bookplates, designed and edited by David Chambers, is skilfully and effectively laid out and well printed (with some exceptions among the copper engravings) by Mackay of Chatham. It makes a very acceptable addition to the publishing list of the Private Libraries Association.

Bought books

American Book-Prices Current

Volume 75 : 1969

Edited by Paul Jordan Smith

1,508pp. New York: Columbia University Press. $40.

The latest (and gradually more nearly up-to-date) volume of *ABPC* covers the season from September, 1968, to August, 1969, under the care of a new editor. It comprises over 200 more pages than its predecessor (reviewed here on April 14) and it contains, at 29,307, nearly 400 more entries for the 129 sales recorded—Sotheby's, Bond Street, accounting for 11,518, Swann Galleries, New York, for 5,222, Sotheby's Parke Bernet for 3,177, Christie's for 2,505, Sotheby's Chancery Lane (still sensibly abbreviated to " H ") for 2,504, Montreal Book Auctions (some sales held in conjunction with Christie's) for 1,747, Charles Hamilton, New York, for 1,312 and Freeman's, Philadelphia, for 302.

The editorial introduction, usefully enlarged, offers a survey of the season, in which the two highest prices were both for cardinal documents in American history: the stunning $404,000 for the Leary copy of the first printing of the *Declaration of Independence*, a world record achieved by Freeman's of Philadelphia, and the $155,000 for the Pierce Butler copy, with twenty-three pages of his notes made at the Convention, of the first printing of the *Constitution of the United States* at Sotheby's Parke Bernet; with Sotheby's Bond Street trailing unaccustomedly at £90,000 for a late fifteenth-century Book of Hours with miniatures in the style of Jean Bourdichon from the Chester Beatty collection, which produced two earlier illuminated manuscripts at £85,000 and £80,000.

The 1968-69 season—how long ago it seems in terms of current prices !—was notable for the sale at Christie's of an interesting collection of English books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from the library of Richard Le Fleming ; Parts V and VI of the Thomas W. Streeter library at Parke Bernet : the eighth and final portion of the library of C. E. Kenney, several sales of books, mostly Continental, belonging to the late J. Irving Davis, that learned bookseller, New Series Part IV of *Bibliotheca Phillippica* (Persian, Turkish and Arabic manuscripts, Indian and Persian miniatures), the Chester Beatty manuscripts, the first two sections of a consignment from the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, modern first editions from the shelves of the late Nancy Cunard and (sold as a single lot for £90,000 to Hofmann & Freeman for the Queen's University, Belfast) the remainder of the library, in nearly 600 catalogued lots, of Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore and editor of *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, many volumes having annotations in his hand—all at Sotheby's.

The bottom limit for entries in *ABPC* still remains at £3 or $10: if it gets much fatter, this will surely need to be raised ? It includes (like its opposite number, *Book Auction Records*) the name of the purchaser " when such information is provided ", as it is in the price lists of the London auction houses: for the sake of a valuable record, could not Sotheby Parke Bernet be induced to do the same ?

Bird books

ROBERT M. MENGEL (Compiler) :

A Catalogue of The Ellis Collection of Ornithological Books in the University of Kansas Libraries

Volume 1 : A-B.

259pp. Lawrence : University of Kansas Libraries.

This is clearly a considerable work. The first volume, which only covers Authors A-B, has about 250 pages, and the whole work, if finished, must extend to not less than six volumes. Robert Mengel describes the book as follows : " This catalogue is a blend of ornithology, ornithological bibliography, and bibliography, in that order, because the author is an ornithologist by training and inclination, an ornithological bibliographer by necessity, and so much of a bibliographer as he may claim to be quite by accident." He also says : " The individual bibliographer has been compelled to specialize : even R. M. Strong's fine Bibliography of Birds, (4 vols 1939-1954) . . . now terribly outdated, is far from complete. Purposely slighting the vast literature of systematics and ornithogeography, it is essentially a highly specialized finding index."

In this volume thirteen pages are devoted to Buffon, whose bibliographical complications perhaps merit this, nine to Audubon. After this, eight pages to A. C. Bent, an American whose first book was published in 1919, and eight to E. C. Baker, an English ornithologist who lived from 1864 to 1944. Ornithologically these two may deserve such treatment, but to those who work with books about books it is more doubtful. This is a monumental work : a monument implies death, but bird books such as Albin, Audubon, Catesby, Gould, Levaillant and so on are still very much alive. Mr Mengel has embalmed them.

Print goes West

H. PEARSON GRUNDY :

The Spread of Printing

Western Hemisphere : Canada

86pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Paperback, £4.50.

This new series of monographs on the history of early printing outside Western Europe, initiated by Messrs Vangendt of Amsterdam under the experienced editorship of Colin Clair, is to be completed in about twenty volumes, of which a dozen have already been published : among them Mr Clair himself on Malta, Dennis Rhodes of the British Museum on India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Thailand, Bradford F. Swan of Providence, RI, on the Caribbean Area, D. H. Borchardt on Australia, and Auguste Toussaint on Mauritius, Réunion, Madagascar and the Seychelles.

H. Pearson Grundy, fully conscious that printing, politics and social history are closely interwoven, has organized his account of the development of printing in Canada by regions, setting up milestones along the westward way for the benefit of readers imperfectly familiar with the country's history. One of its minor curiosities is the absence of any printing press in New France before the fall of Quebec to General Wolfe in 1759. The Jesuits had been petitioning France for printing equipment as early as 1665, but bureaucratic lethargy and official parsimony always prevailed, so that the earliest press in what is now Canada was established at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1751, when the British Settlement was barely two years old. The printer, Bartholemew Green, came from Boston, but died within two months and was succeeded by his former partner John Bushell, who shortly became the King's Printer. The first piece of printing was the March 23, 1752, issue of the *Halifax Gazette*, just as the first in Mr Grundy's final chapter was the single issue of the *Caribou Sun* in the Yukon Territory in the late winter of 1897-98, at the time of the Klondike Gold Rush.

During the years between we are taken across Canada, with the early title-pages (many of them reproduced from Laurence M. Lande's collection of Canadiana in the Redpath Library of McGill University) strongly reminiscent of the contemporary manners in Paris or London, and with many of the earlier printers coming from abroad. Mr Grundy ends his survey with a quotation from the Yukon *Midnight Sun* of October 15, 1898—a far cry from the respectable pioneer society in Nova Scotia in the 1750s—describing a calamitous fire in what seems clearly to have been a popular brothel in Dawson City.

Books received

Architecture

Trevor Dannatt : Buildings and Interiors, 1951-72. 96pp. Lund Humphries. £3.15 (paperback, £1.95).

An anthology of the work of this English architect, edited by himself with a short introduction by Theo Crosby. The two dozen buildings illustrated (some of which are very minor interior adaptations) convey an impression of seriousness, care for detail and a refreshing absence of self-display. It is useful to have records of the work of architects who are not regularly publicized or who have in other ways become eminent, but this record is oddly timed. By far the most substantial building Trevor Dannatt has designed is a hotel and conference centre at Riyadh in Saudi Arabia. This is shown half-built and the text states that it will be completed in 1973. It would surely have been sensible to have waited for another year before compiling the book, when this important building could have been illustrated by finished photographs instead of by snapshots of rough concrete obscured by scaffolding.

HABRAKEN, N. J. *Supports.* An Alternative to Mass Housing. 97pp. Architectural Press. £2.25 (paperback, £1).

" Support Structures ", in their inventor's words, are a form of construction allowing for the provision of dwellings which can be built, altered, and taken down independently of others. Their principle is somewhere between the tree which annually supports a different colony of birds' nests, and a Mobile Homes Camp. Support structures, in theory, are a more flexible alternative to mass housing and to the monotony of endless rows of houses or tower blocks. N. J. Habraken suggests that they would not wear out or turn into slums ; they would provide for a better social mix than mass housing. Buckminster Fuller's geodesic structures are quoted, but since this book is about a theory, there are no illustrations. The need for an alternative to mass housing is indisputable, but some sketches would have made it easier to judge whether support structures would be a visual improvement on more orthodox buildings.

Aviation

TAYLOR, JOHN W. R. (Editor). *Aircraft 1973.* 136pp. Ian Allan. £2.25.

An annual survey of the state of aviation, commercial, military and industrial, together with historical and explanatory articles after the fashion of a magazine, is promised by this first issue. The work is of good quality and the illustrations, some coloured, are excellent.

Biographies and Memoirs

BUDYONNY, SEMYON. *The Path of Valour.* 441pp. Moscow: Progress. Distributed by Central Books. £1.25.

These unpretentious memoirs are the record of the famous cavalry commander in the Russian Civil War who rose to be a Marshal of the Soviet Union. His grandparents were serfs in central Russia, emancipated with inadequate land for subsistence in 1861, and he was born in one of the Don Cossack settlements in the south.

Most of his book is taken up with detailed descriptions of the engagements in the Civil War in which he had a part. His unit was under Voroshilov's command at Tsaritsyn in the latter part of 1918, when Voroshilov and Stalin, then political commissar for the southern front, clashed with Trotsky. Budyonny was wholly on the side of Voroshilov and Stalin, and Trotsky makes only one unflattering appearance in these pages. But the dispute is not discussed or described, and there is no indication that Budyonny understood, or tried to understand, what it was about. Budyonny was once more associated with Stalin, in the Polish campaign of 1920 ; and these links no doubt stood him in good stead later in his career.

Nothing in this volume will disturb the conventional picture of Budyonny as a simple, self-taught man with large cavalry moustaches who never meddled in politics.

STRONG, ROY and OMAN, JULIA TREVELYAN. *Mary Queen of Scots.* 80pp. Secker and Warburg. £1.75 until January 31, 1973. Thereafter, £2.25.

This book, described as an " evocation " by Roy Strong and a " spectacle " by Julia Trevelyan Oman, consists of about fifty pages in photogravure and twenty of letterpress on blue-tinted paper. Both concentrate on Mary's imprisonment and execution, and little reference is made to Mary's political and personal career as a queen and a woman. In brief, this is a piece of sophisticated martyrology on a well-worn theme.

Cartography

HARLEY, J. B. *Maps for the Local Historian.* A Guide to the British Sources. 86pp. National Council of Social Service for Standing Conference for Local History. Paperback, 90p.

From the production of Saxton and Speed onwards, maps of various kinds exist for local historians' use. What they are, and how they may be used, are considered in this series of of papers reprinted from *The Local Historian*. J. B. Harley discusses in turn town plans, estate, enclosure and communications maps, marine charts, and maps of the counties. A bibliography is added to include more recent cartographical publications, and there are eight plates of map reproductions.

Folk Mythology

TOMAS, ANDREW. *Atlantis.* From Legend to Discovery. 159pp. Hale. £2.50.

Some of the legends in this odd book are interesting. Some of the speculations are stimulating, though others are semantically back to front, as when the author observes that in Greek myth " Atlas . . . had a daughter Electra. . . . Electra means ' bright one ' in Greek. It also means amber which produces electricity by friction. As Atlas is generally identified with Atlantis can we not read in this myth the existence of electricity in Atlantis ? " Where does he suppose the word *electricity*, coined by classically trained scientists, came from ?

A few of what are claimed to be discoveries might be worth exploring, notably one which sounds like an exotic version of Victorian table-turning. This is said to take place daily at " the village of Shivapur on the Satara road near Poona in Western India ", where stones weighing 120lb and 90lb respectively are said to be levitated by the fingertips of chanting pilgrims. The preliminaries, though not the levitation, are shown in an undated photograph from *The Illustrated Weekly of India*.

Other illustrations depict ancient paintings and sculptures from Australia, Mexico, Egypt and China and bear captions such as " Prehistoric Painting, the Mouthless Ones, Astronauts in Space Suits ? ", " Quetzlcoatl . . . is he a messenger of the gods . . . or an astronaut in a space helmet ? " and (no query this time) " Martians, a fresco painted 9,000 years ago in Tassili, Sahara ".

History

WILKINSON, R. J. (Editor). *Papers on Malay Subjects.* Selected and introduced by P. L. Burns. 468pp. Oxford University Press. £7.25.

R. J. Wilkinson, who served in the administration of the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements from 1889 to 1916, was one of the most distinguished students of Malay language, literature, history and customs to be produced by the civil service of British Malaya. In 1906 Wilkinson began a project for the publication of a series of studies of the Malays, written by himself and by his colleagues, which continued until the late 1920s. P. L. Burns has gathered a selection of these publications, the original editions of which are now rather rare. The result will prove extremely useful to any serious student of Malay history—Dr Burns has concentrated on the historical papers at the expense of the linguistic and cultural material, which might well be the subject of a second volume of selections. The book includes Wilkinson's own history of the Peninsula Malays and an assortment of historical writing, including some documentary material, relating specifically to Perak and Negri Sembilan by Wilkinson, C. W. Harrison, A. Caldecott, J. E. Nathan and R. O. (later Sir Richard) Winstedt.

Humour

CAMPBELL, PATRICK. *Fat Tuesday Tails.* 147pp. Blond and Briggs. £1.75.

The world is once more Patrick Campbell's oyster but once more he is damned if he will swallow the natives. So officials, taxi-drivers, hoteliers and the rest fall victim to his quizzical, globe-trotter's pen, as do all the domestic gremlins when he is at home in the South of France. Most of the pieces collected here, some from *The Sunday Times*, are amusing, but he is also good at description.

WHITEHORN, KATHARINE. *How to Survive in Hospital.* 64pp. Methuen. 85p.

Sound and cheerful advice for the hospital patient on everything from visitors to bedpans. An excellent vade mecum for the operation, and Bill Tidy's illustrations, though too small, will keep you in stitches.

Local History

DUGMORE, RUTH. *Puttenham under the Hog's Back.* 155pp. Chichester : Phillimore. £2.

English villages now are very conscious of their past and many are finding historians to investigate and record it. Not that Ruth Dugmore has anything of outstanding importance to relate : " The story of Puttenham is not unique. It simply tells of a village conforming to a pattern which appears in almost every rural community in south-east England." The annals run from the first written reference to this Surrey village in 1199 to the sweeping changes of modern times. In the early years this century, the author notes, cottages were held precariously on a " monthly hiring ", the pound was still in use, and in 1914 indispensable village horses were being hidden in a spinney to save them from being requisitioned for war service.

PINE, L. G. *The Highland Clans.* 198pp. Newton Abbot : David and Charles. £3.25.

Since L. G. Pine is not himself a Highlander, his book is perhaps less prejudiced than most on this interminably evocative subject. It has been lang syne more important in the United States or Canada or New Zealand than in Scotland, where the wonder and tradition of belonging to a clan is taken too much for granted. Mr Pine's work is well-researched and concise.

SPEAK, HAROLD and FORRESTER, JEAN. *Old Wakefield in Photographs.* Unnumbered plates. Nelson, Lancs : Hendon Publishing. 88p.

The title of this brochure is to some extent a misnomer in that among the sixty illustrations twelve old prints and sketches are included as well as the dim old photographs. The collection, made by two local historians, provides, with its pictures, brief introduction and captions, a record of the town's daily life, buildings, modes of transport and royal occasions from the eighteenth century until well into the twentieth. Among the more interesting records is a poster showing the miniature Crystal Palace that housed the Wakefield Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition of 1865 which, like the original, was a success and made a profit—as well as an excellent early photograph of the fine Market Cross built in 1707 and barbarously demolished, without the protection of a preservation order, in 1866.

Occultism

BURLAND, C. A. *Secrets of the Occult.* 128pp including unnumbered illustrations. Ebury Press. £3.15.

The reproductions are magnificent, but references to their sources—as distinct from their owners—are at best scanty and at worst non-existent. The text skates at racing speed over most of the recorded history of the West. It contains some interesting material but is marred by slipshod assumptions and generalizations, not to mention statements that are totally off beam. Thus a small picture of a church apparently decorated for a harvest festival is labelled " Religion and magic in Victorian England " and its garlands are seen as " tokens of primitive nature worship ". The author has little idea, it seems, that Harvest Thanksgiving services worship God precisely as the Creator of nature, and that on a different level Christian philosophy posits nature as the basis of grace.

C. A. Burland does not define what is meant by the occult. In practice he writes about ancient classical religions, gnosticism, witch persecutions in Europe and the United States (but not in pre-Christian Africa), fertility cults, the rise of spiritualism and of philosophy, the activities of Aleister Crowley (" a most likeable man " !) and of later warlocks including Charles Manson, the American murderer. He realizes very clearly that humans deprived of mystery seek the numinous as cattle seek a salt lick, but not that value-judgments are as necessary in this field as in any other.

Railways

DORMAN, C. C. *Carlisle (Citadel) Railway Scene.* 143pp including 118 Illustrations. Allen and Unwin. £3.95.

It was at Citadel station that the great English and Scottish railway companies met, both in friendship and in rivalry. It was a big, bustling place where crews and locomotives were changed and there was spit and polish everywhere. In the very early 1920s C. C. Dorman remembers seeing the glistening blackberry black of the LNWR ; the brilliant blue of the Caledonian; the crimson lake of the Midland and the two shades of green favoured by the NER and the GSWR. This is a lively study of a great station both before and after nationalization and the illustrations are excellent.

Social History

MARPLES, MORRIS. *Wicked Uncles in Love.* 235pp. Michael Joseph. £3.50.

Morris Marples, who has recently written several books about the Royal Family, takes us over familiar ground in his spirited sketches of the three eldest sons of George III, and of the Duke of Sussex. In contrast with the private lives of their father and niece, these princes provide an unseemly but human chapter in royal history. An interesting addition to the book is the account of the Duke of Sussex and his second wife, a reminder that, however turbulent their youth may have been, there was in all these men a yearning for domestic peace.

Travel and Topography

THOROLD, HENRY. *Derbyshire.* A Shell Guide. 129pp. Faber and Faber. £2.25.

The new Shell Guide to Derbyshire is a wholly successful portrait of the county, informative for the visitor and instantly recognizable to the Derbyshire-bred. In the text and the fine photographs Henry Thorold describes not only a county of great natural beauty and geological variety, of seemingly remote villages and little country towns, of great houses and elegant halls, but also one shaped by the Industrial Revolution, of mills and mines and quarries, of the old, honoured, Midland Railway, and of René Cutforth's " Swad ". Mr Thorold is good, too, on local lore and history and on the pronunciation of place-names, though it is questionable whether " Spoondon " for Spondon is ever heard now, any more than one hears " Durby ", though this was quite common years ago. Finally, in the note on Edensor, overseas visitors especially, who are always interested in the Kennedy connexion with the Devonshire family, might like to know that a stone in the churchyard commemorates the visit of President Kennedy to his sister Kathleen's grave.

WILES, JOHN. *The Grand Trunk Road.* Khyber to Calcutta. 161pp. Elek. £3.50.

This urbane book may be commended to anyone weary of perpetual discussion who would like to know more of the people above whose heads the Indo-Pakistani quarrel rages. It is an account of the journey which the author made, largely on foot, but also by ekka, tonga, bullock cart and country bus, along the Khyber-Calcutta highway. It provides a panorama of the way of life followed by the inhabitants of the northern regions of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent. John Wiles, who was born in Kasauli, found that independence has brought many changes, but it has not altered the tradition of hospitality to strangers, of which his recollection of the languages and knowledge of the customs enabled him to take full advantage. Pathans, Punjabis, Sikhs, UP men, Biharis, Bengalis are as distinct as they ever were : governments may come, and governments may go; institutions may alter; economic conditions may improve—but if a servant of John Company were to return to any of the places which Mr Wiles visited, he would find much that was familiar.

War

CHAMBERLIN, E. R. *Life in Wartime Britain.* 190pp. Batsford. £2.

This description of life in Britain during the war years comes in the " English Life " series edited by Peter Quennell. From the first digging of trenches and distribution of gas-masks, the conditions of wartime existence of the Home Front from 1939 to 1945 are described in lively detail and with a profusion of photographs that will stir memories in all older readers.

KENDALL, ALAN. *Their Finest Hour.* An Evocative Memoir of the British People in Wartime 1939-1945. 192pp. Wayland. £4.95.

Nearly half the pages in this book are occupied by very good pictures of the " blitz " days. To younger readers, they might mean little were it not for the account of the way people lived and suffered and developed a remarkable comradeship after an initial antipathy of the poor towards the rich. Alan Kendall notes the unpreparedness of Britain and the way too much of the responsibility was left to local authorities. He explains that the effect of this was not so serious in London, where a stricken borough might get help from neighbouring boroughs, but was disastrous when places like Coventry and Plymouth were devastated. Plymouth had 40,000 homeless people. Shopping became impossible for a time, and in Coventry there were " outbreaks of hysteria ". Yet the town's works were in full production six weeks after the attack. This book is not history ; it is rather a broad impression, lit by a few personal experiences.

Wine and Food

LOEB, O. W. and PRITTIE, TERENCE. *Moselle.* 221pp. Faber and Faber. £4.50.

This useful book appears when little on the complicated subject of German wines is in print. The difficulties arise largely from the multiplicity of commune and site names, though these are reduced by the new German wine law, and from the gradations of quality to be found within a site. The authors have produced a compact survey, encompassing the wine history of the Moselle valley, the technical details of wine-making, a tour of the wine villages on the Moselle and its tributaries, and a record of all modern vintages. There is a comprehensive glossary of German wine terms. The Luxembourg Moselle wines are included, as is Sekt, which absorbs a great deal of the local wine in over-acid off-years. Although the record of Moselle wines, emerging little less than a century ago from near-obscurity outside the district to a position of respect among serious wine drinkers, might be considered a success story, the authors' survey of the future seems negative and non-objective, with attacks on British governments' duty-levying (to be harmonized, surely, with other EEC duties), on trade mergers and on an alleged decline in the discriminating drinking of Moselle consequent upon premature consumption of young wines.

Although the body of the notice published in our issue of October 20 made plain that *Obed Mutezo : The Mudzimu Christian Nationalist* was by Ndabaningi Sithole, Mr Sithole's name was unfortunately omitted from the heading.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LIBRARIANS

LONDON BOROUGH OF BARNET

LIBRARY SERVICES

APPLICATIONS are invited for the POST of LIBRARIAN IN CHARGE at the SOUTH FRIERN BARNET LIBRARY. Salary AP4 (£2,100-£2,388 per annum plus £105 London Weighting).

Candidates should be Chartered Librarians with experience in a public library system. National scheme. Pensionable post. Medical examination. Canvassing disqualifies. The successful candidate will be expected to remain in the service of the Council for at least two years.

Application forms and further details from the Borough Librarian, Ravensfield House, The Burroughs, Hendon, NW4 4BE.

Closing date: 6.12.72.

R. H. Williams, Town Clerk.

BINGLEY URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL

SENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

APPLICATIONS are invited for the above POST (which ranks next to the Chief Librarian) preferably from CHARTERED LIBRARIANS at a salary within Grade A.P.3, II/III (£1,530 to £2,100 per annum). Point of entry according to qualifications and experience.

The appointment will be subject to the Local Government Scheme of Conditions of Service for the Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Services, to the Local Government Superannuation Acts and to a minimum of four weeks' notice on either side.

Applications stating age, qualifications, experience etc., together with the names of two referees, should reach the undersigned not later than Friday, 1st December, 1972.

H. Carr, Clerk of the Council, Town Hall, Bingley.

LONDON BOROUGH OF BROMLEY

BOROUGH ENGINEER AND SURVEYOR'S DEPARTMENT

LIBRARIAN/TECHNICAL INFORMATION ASSISTANT
A.P. 2/3 £1,635 to £2,205

The successful applicant will be a suitably qualified person, particularly able to catalogue and abstract technical information. His or her duties will include the management of a modest library of engineering publications, research papers and reports, periodicals and journals, together with a reference service in technical, trade and administrative matters.

Application forms from the Establishment Officer, Town Hall, Bromley, Kent, BR1 1SB, quoting ref. C.306. Closing date 4th December 1972.

THE BRITISH STEEL CORPORATION

has a vacancy in the Head Office Library and Registry Section for a

QUALIFIED LIBRARY ASSISTANT

The successful candidate will be responsible for cataloguing and indexing acquisitions and answering enquiries from all Head Office departments. The library is a developing and expanding function and the Assistant must be capable of playing a full part in its activities.

Applicants should be graduates in either the Arts, Economics or Social Sciences, ideally with up to two years' experience in a library, preferably with an industrial organization.

A subsidized restaurant is provided, three weeks' annual holiday and a social club which caters for a wide variety of interests.

Please apply in writing to The Personnel Manager (Head Office) British Steel Corporation, 33 Grosvenor Place, London SW1X 7JG.

HERTFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL

HITCHIN COLLEGE
Cambridge Road, Hitchin, Herts
(Tel.: Hitchin 2351/2/3)

SENIOR TUTOR LIBRARIAN

APPLICATIONS are invited from qualified librarians for the appointment of SENIOR TUTOR LIBRARIAN to be responsible for the College Library and to develop resource and information services. A teaching qualification or teaching experience would be an advantage.

Salary: Burnham Technical Scale for Lecturer Grade II (£2,355-£3,053). Point of entry on the scale dependent upon age, qualifications, and experience.

Application forms and further particulars from the Principal, to whom completed forms should be returned by 4th December.

HERTFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL

BOREHAM WOOD COLLEGE OF FURTHER EDUCATION
Elstree Way, Borehamwood, Herts.
(01-953 6024)

LIBRARY ASSISTANT required for College Library. General Library duties include work on the loans desk, typing and some clerical work. Library experience desirable. 38 hours per week including a maximum of two evening duties each week. Salary on Scale Clerical 1 (£597 to £1,359 including £105 London Allowance) according to age and experience.

Applications not later than 1st December, 1972, to the Registrar, giving age, qualifications and experience, together with names and addresses of two referees. If further details are required please telephone the Registrar or Librarian.

HUDDERSFIELD HOSPITAL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

In conjunction with
WEST RIDING COUNTY LIBRARY
LIBRARIAN

Required to organize services to staff and patients at hospitals under the jurisdiction of the Huddersfield Hospital Management Committee.

Salary within A.P. IV/V (£2,100 to £2,661 per annum).

Applicants must be Chartered Librarians preferably with relevant experience.

Further details from County Librarian, County Library Headquarters, Balne Lane, Wakefield, WF2 0DQ.

INNER TEMPLE LIBRARY

APPLICATIONS are invited for the POST of TRAINEE LIBRARIAN at a salary of £1,040 open to persons who wish to gain experience before entering Library School or to librarians who have left library school and are seeking a first appointment.

General duties, 35-hour five-day week, free lunches, one month's annual vacation.

Applications to the Librarian, Inner Temple, Temple, E.C.4, by December 1st, 1972.

INVERNESS COUNTY COUNCIL

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

APPLICATIONS are invited from Chartered Librarians for the above POST in the County Library Department based in Inverness.

The successful applicant will have an opportunity to take part in all aspects of library work with particular reference to the varying duties and problems which arise in providing a service to the small communities of the Mainland, Skye, and the Outer Hebrides.

The post will be graded in accordance with Chartered Librarians' scale, £1,659 to £2,100 per annum. Approved removal expenses in excess of £25 will be reimbursed and assistance with housing will be provided where appropriate.

Application forms may be obtained from the County Clerk, County Buildings, Inverness, to be returned by 30th November, 1972.

KINGSTON UPON HULL CITY LIBRARIES

SPECIALIST LIBRARIAN
CATALOGUING AND SYSTEMS

APPLICATIONS are invited for the above POST from CHARTERED LIBRARIANS. The post is graded on A.P. 4/5 (£2,100 to £2,661).

This post is within the newly reorganized Stock Department. The Cataloguer will be responsible for the cataloguing and classifying of books and non-book material added to stock and is expected generally to supervise the cataloguing section of the department and maintenance of the Union Catalogues. Work has commenced on the computerization of the catalogues and preparations are in hand for computer charging. The successful applicant will be expected to contribute substantially to the planning for computerization.

Forms of application can be obtained from the Director of Recreational Services and Chief Librarian, Central Library, Albion Street, Hull, HU1 3TF, and should be returned not later than noon on Thursday, 7th December, 1972.

D. J. Bryant, Director of Recreational Services and Chief Librarian.

LIBRARY ASSISTANT required for British Institute of Management. Previous library experience useful. Suitable candidates will be aged between 18 and 25, with at least three "O" levels. Varied duties, including work in the book ordering section. Salary according to age and experience.—Telephone or write to Staff Officer, British Institute of Management, Management House, Parker Street, London, WC2B 5PT. Tel.: 01-405 3456.

THE CITY UNIVERSITY

THE LIBRARY

APPLICATIONS are invited for a POST of LIBRARY ASSISTANT in the University Library. Five G.C.E. passes at "O" level or the equivalent are required.

Salary scale rising to £1,737 per annum, entry point determined by age, experience and qualifications.

Applications, giving full particulars to The Acting Librarian, The City University, St. John Street, London EC1V 4PB, by 4th December, 1972.

BOROUGH OF SALE

BOROUGH LIBRARIAN

APPLICATIONS invited from Chartered Librarians with wide experience, consequent upon retirement of present holder. Salary within Senior Officers' Grades 1/2 (£2,565 to £3,324), commencing point according to qualifications and experience. Preference given to candidates within Greater Manchester area and Lancashire and Cheshire Library Services.

As from 1st April, 1974, the borough will comprise part of the Trafford Metropolitan District (population 240,000).

Sale (present population 60,000) provides a central library, a new branch library, a mobile library and services to the housebound, the elderly and schools. Book Fund £27,000. Book issues 905,391. Pleasant progressive residential area, mainly owner-occupied, six miles south of Manchester city centre and university. Excellent educational facilities, strong social life and other amenities. Easy motorway and other access to scenic and open countryside.

Applications, with names and addresses (only) of two independent referees, to Town Clerk, Town Hall, Sale, M33 1ZF, by 2nd December, 1972.

One hundred per cent approved removal expenses paid. Canvassing disqualifies.

Town Hall, Sale.

NORTH RIDING COUNTY COUNCIL

COUNTY LIBRARY

ASSISTANT LIBRARIANS

APPLICATIONS are invited from qualified librarians for TWO POSTS; one in the Dales District and the other in the Whitby District. In addition to taking special responsibility for two mobile libraries based at Catterick Camp and Whitby respectively the two librarians appointed will be required to help to develop services in the District Headquarters.

Salary within the Librarians' Scale £1,251 to £2,100 according to qualifications and experience.

Removal expenses and/or lodging allowances payable in approved cases.

Application forms and further particulars from the County Librarian, County Library Headquarters, Grammar School Lane, Northallerton, Yorkshire, to whom they should be returned not later than 4th December, 1972.

Please state District preference.

Robert A. Wotherspoon, Clerk of the County Council.

OLD TRAFFORD

BRANCH LIBRARIAN

APPLICATIONS are invited for the above POST from suitably experienced qualified LIBRARIANS.

A new Branch Library is scheduled for completion before the end of 1973.

Salary: A.P. 3/4, £1,803 to £2,388 per annum.

Applications, stating age, experience and qualifications together with names of two persons to whom reference may be made, should reach the undersigned not later than 4th December 1972.

W. G. Hatton, Town Clerk and Chief Executive Officer, Town Hall, Talbot Road, Stretford.

PETERBOROUGH CITY LIBRARIES

ASSISTANT REFERENCE LIBRARIAN AND TECHNICAL LIBRARIAN

APPLICATIONS are invited from Chartered Librarians preferably with scientific qualifications for the above POST.

Salary A.P.3. £1,803 to £2,100.

N.J.C. conditions of service. Removal expenses and housing in approved cases.

Further particulars from the City Librarian, Central Library, Broadway, Peterborough, PE1 1RX, to whom applications with the names of two referees should be sent.

C. Peter Clarke, Town Clerk, P.O. Box 8, Town Hall, Peterborough, PE1 1HG.

UNIVERSITY OF SURREY

LIBRARY

APPLICATIONS are invited from GRADUATES, preferably in science and with a library qualification for the POST of ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN (Grade 3). The successful applicant will be mainly concerned with reader services.

The salary will be on a scale £1,704 to £2,238.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Librarian.

Applications should be sent to the Assistant Secretary (Personnel), quoting J. G., by Thursday, 30 November, 1972.

ISLE OF WIGHT COUNTY COUNCIL

NEWPORT BRANCH LIBRARY

BRANCH LIBRARIAN

A new branch library is planned for 1974 and this post offers scope for initiative and enterprise in the delightful setting of this unique island. Salary scale A.P.3/4 (£1,803 to £2,388).

Further details and application forms available from the County Librarian, County Library Headquarters, Newport, I.W. Closing date 4th December, 1972.

LOUGHBOROUGH PUBLIC LIBRARIES

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

APPLICATIONS are invited for a POST as ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN for general and professional duties. Applicants should have some professional library qualification.

The salary offered is within the scale APT I/II (£1,251 to £1,903 per annum).

Applications, stating age, qualifications and experience, and giving the names and addresses of two referees, to reach the Borough Librarian, Central Library, Granby Street, Loughborough, by 4th December, 1972.

PUBLIC & UNIVERSITY

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST

CHAIR OF SPANISH

APPLICATIONS are invited for the Chair of Spanish from 1st October, 1973. The salary is £6,211 with contributory pension rights under the F.S.S.U.

Applications should be received by 22nd January, 1973. Further particulars may be obtained from The Senior Assistant Secretary (Personnel), The Queen's University of Belfast, BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland. (Please quote Ref. 72/TLS.)

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

Applications are invited for the post of LECTURER within the DEPARTMENT of ENGLISH tenable from the 1st August, 1973. Initial salary within the range £1,764-£2,874 per annum. The Department is seeking a lecturer in English literature and language with a wide range of interests.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, University Senate House, Bristol BS8 1TH, to whom applications should be sent by December 7th, 1972 (please quote reference EB).

UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX

DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE

APPLICATIONS are invited for a temporary LECTURESHIP (£1,764 to £4,143 per annum) in LITERATURE from 1st January, 1973, until 30th September, 1974. The teaching will be mainly in the field of the Enlightenment but ability to teach Modern English literature would be an advantage.

Applications (six copies, quoting ref. CS/47/TLS), including a curriculum vitae and the names of two referees, should be sent to the Registrar, University of Essex, Colchester, Essex, from whom further particulars are available, by 9th December, 1972.

HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

A VACANCY exists for a GRADUATE RESEARCH ASSISTANT in the early modern period, with some special reference to the history of books and libraries. A history degree is desirable but not essential. A competent knowledge of Latin is required.

Applications including a curriculum vitae and the names of two referees should be sent to the Director of Research, History of the University, Room 135A, New Bodleian Library, Oxford. Closing date: 27 November, 1972.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES IN THE HUMANITIES

POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

APPLICATIONS are invited for a number of postdoctoral research fellowships, tenable during the session 1973/1974 for periods of between one term and one year. The subject of research may be anywhere within the field of the humanities. The fellowships are intended both for scholars of established reputation and for others who may be at an earlier stage in their career. The value of the awards will vary according to individual circumstances, but will normally include a maintenance grant and necessary expenses. The closing date for applications is 31st January, 1973.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from Professor William Beattie, Director, Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, 17 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN.

UNIVERSITY OF TRONDHEIM NORWAY

LECTURERSHIP

APPLICATIONS are invited for one or more LECTURERSHIPS in English at the University of Trondheim, the College of Arts and Science. The lecturers must among them cover the following subjects: English language (grammar and/or phonetics) and background (American and/or English).

Appointment will be made from January 1st, 1973.

The University of Trondheim is in a process of rapid expansion and these lectureships will probably become permanent in the near future.

Maximum teaching load: 12 hours a week.

Basic salary: Kr 55.290 (approximately £3,500).

Applicants should hold a good honour's degree (preferably in English) and relevant postgraduate qualifications are required. The medium of instruction is English.

Applications, documenting pertinent training and experience and giving the names of three referees, should reach the University of Trondheim, the College of Arts and Science, Bjornsons gt. 12, 7000 Trondheim, by December 10th, 1972.

Referees should write directly to the university unsolicited.

BOROUGH OF SALE

Grammar School, St. Helens

BOROUGH LIBRARIAN

Applications invited from Chartered Librarians with wide experience consequent upon retirement of present holder. Salary within Senior Officer Grades 1/2 (£2,565 to £3,324), commencing point according to qualifications and experience. Preference given to candidates within Greater Manchester area and Lancashire and Cheshire Library Services.

As from 1st April, 1974, the borough will comprise part of the Trafford Metropolitan District (population 230,000).

Sale (present population 60,000) provides a central library, a new branch library, a mobile library and services to the housebound, the elderly and schools. Book Fund £27,000. Book Issues 905,391. Pleasant progressive residential area, mainly owner-occupied, six miles south of Manchester city centre and university. Excellent educational facilities, strong social life and other amenities. Easy motorway and other access to scenic and open countryside.

Applications, with names and addresses (only) of two independent referees, to Town Clerk, Town Hall, Sale, M33 1ZF, by 6th December, 1972.

One hundred per cent approved removal expenses paid. Canvassing disqualifies.

Town Hall, Sale.

THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL OF LIBRARIANSHIP AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

APPLICATIONS are invited for (a) a LECTURESHIP in INFORMATION STUDIES—LAW and (b) a LECTURESHIP in INFORMATION STUDIES—SOCIAL SCIENCES. Successful candidates will be expected to assist in the planning and implementation of a new postgraduate Information Studies course for social scientists to begin in October, 1973. Salary according to age and experience within the range £1,764 to £4,299.

Further particulars from the Registrar and Secretary, to whom applications should be submitted by 18th December, 1972. Quote Reference R.197/AL.

COLLEGE OF LIBRARIANSHIP WALES

Principal: F. N. Hogg, D.P.A., F.L.A.

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION RETRIEVAL STUDIES
Head: D. Mason, M.A., F.L.A., M.I.Inf.Sc.

LECTURERS/SENIOR LECTURERS

Applications for two lecturing posts are invited from Fellows of the Library Association or Associates of the Library Association with a degree. Applicants should have an interest in Information Retrieval Studies; and a particular interest in the mechanization of library procedures is required for one of the posts. There are opportunities to teach at all levels on the following courses:

University of Wales Joint Honours Degree of Bachelor of Librarianship.
University of Wales Postgraduate Diploma in Librarianship.

Associateship of the Library Association.

Successful applicants will also supervise research students working for the University of Wales Degree of Master of Librarianship or the Fellowship of the Library Association.

Salaries (currently under review): Lecturer II, £2,155 to £3,051; Senior Lecturer, £3,131 to £3,495 then £3,766.

Starting point according to qualifications and experience.

Applications containing a full curriculum vitae and the names of three referees should be sent as soon as possible to the Registrar, College of Librarianship Wales, Llanbadarn Fawr, Aberystwyth, SY23 3AS.

Further information may be obtained from the Registrar (Telephone Aberystwyth 3642) and intending applicants may, if they wish, visit the College informally.

WARWICK
UNIVERSITY OF

GENERAL MANAGER OF THE ARTS CENTRE

APPLICATIONS are invited for the new POST of GENERAL MANAGER of the University's Arts Centre to be completed early in 1974. Candidates should have experience in the administration of the performing arts.

The salary attached to the post will be in the scale £3,033 by £191 to £3,910 with F.S.S.U. The successful candidate will be expected to take up his appointment on 1st April, 1973, or as soon as possible thereafter.

Further particulars of the appointment may be obtained from the Academic Registrar, University of Warwick, Coventry, CV4 7AL, quoting reference 167/2M/72/TLS. Closing date for applications 18th December, 1972.

VACANT APPOINTMENTS

BRITISH COUNCIL, London, requires Assistant for ordering and cataloguing books selected for exhibitions by Book Promotions Department. Good typing essential. Some experience of the book trade desirable. Starting salary £879 at age 18 to £1,374 at 25 or over, rising to £1,664. Additional typing allowance if qualified. Promotion prospects; non-contributory superannuation scheme; staff restaurant. Write quoting H/37C4 to Staff Recruitment Department, 65 Davies Street, London W1Y 2AA, for further particulars and application form to be submitted by 7 December, 1972.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE COUNTY LIBRARY

Applications are invited for the post of:

SENIOR ASSISTANT

Wexham Library
Salary:
A.P. 3 £1,803-£2,100 p.a.

N.J.C. Conditions of Service. Successful candidate subject to medical examination.

Applications (no forms), together with the names and addresses of two referees, to the County Librarian, County Library Headquarters, County Offices, Aylesbury, Bucks, to be received by the 8th December, 1972, from whom further details may be obtained.

LONDON BOROUGH OF ISLINGTON
LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT

STOCK EDITOR

S.O.1. £2,709-£3,138
(inclusive of London Weighting)

Applicants must be Chartered Librarians with wide and varied Public Library experience. They should possess a sound knowledge of modern bibliographies and considerable experience of the book market. They will be required to assume responsibility for co-ordinating the book selection of the library system with due regard for the overall needs of the community. The Stock Editor has two assistants. Office hours. No Saturdays.

Forms of application and job description are available from the Chief Librarian, Central Library, 68 Holloway Road, N7 8JN, to whom they must be returned by 4th December, 1972.

LONDON BOROUGH OF HACKNEY

(LIBRARY SERVICES)

APPLICATIONS are invited from suitably qualified and experienced librarians for the POST of ASSISTANT BRANCH LIBRARIAN. Salary A.P. 3 [illegible] £2,244 per annum inclusive.

Applications are also invited from persons with experience or interest for the post of hospital library work for the post of ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN. Salary [illegible] £1,595 to £1,674 per annum inclusive.

Forms of application from Chief Executive and Town Clerk, Town Hall, Mare Street, Hackney, E.8 (Tel.: 01-[illegible] ext. 314). Closing date for applications 4th December, 1972. Please quote reference TLS.

PLEASE NOTE

The deadline for Classified Advertisement Copy in the TLS is now 11.00 a.m. every Monday

Classified Advertisements:

The Times Literary Supplement publishes Classified Advertisements under the following headings:

Appointments

- **Librarians**
- **Public & University**
- **Educational**
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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Nottinghamshire

COUNTY LIBRARY

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for the post of

Deputy Divisional Librarian

Beeston Division

Salary AP4 (£2,100—£2,388)

Further details from the County Librarian, County Hall, West Bridgford, Nottingham, NG2 7QP. Closing date for applications: 14 December, 1972.

University of Amsterdam

The Department of Philosophy invites applications for the

CHAIR OF LINGUISTIC PHILOSOPHY

Candidates are expected to possess a thorough knowledge of

- —linguistics and the philosophy of linguistics
- —analytic philosophy
- —the logical analysis of natural language

notably of recent developments in each of these fields. Those wishing to apply in their own behalf or to call attention to suitable candidates are invited to submit full particulars to the Chairman of the Appointment Committee (Institute of Philosophy, Roetersstraat 15, Amsterdam, Netherlands), not later than one month following the appearance of this advertisement.

London Borough of Sutton
Education Department
Libraries Division

Reference Librarian

required initially at busy Wallington District Library. Grade: Special (Librarians) Salary Scale £1,251-£2,100 with a bar at £1,803 plus £105 London Weighting.

Senior Assistant (Music)

required initially at the Sutton (Central) Library Grade: Special (Librarians) Salary Scale £1,251-£1,803 plus £105 London Weighting.

Commencing salary for the above posts dependent on qualifications and experience.

Application forms and further details for both posts obtainable from Roy Smith, F.L.A., Borough Librarian, Central Library, Manor Park, Sutton, Surrey.

Closing date 4th December, 1972.

T. M. H. SCOTT, Principal Chief Officer.

UNIVERSITAT DES SAARLANDES
SAARBRUCKEN, GERMANY

CHAIR OF ENGLISH LINGUISTICS

(Full Professor, H4)

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the Chair of English Linguistics in the English Department. The Post will be tenable from April, 1973. Applicants will be expected to have done work in modern linguistics and to be qualified to oversee the teaching of English as a foreign language. Preference will be given to candidates who have a working knowledge of German.

Applications should be sent to "Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität des Saarlandes, Saarbrücken 11, Germany", no later than December 10, 1972.

West Sussex County Council

School Librarians
(2 Posts)

School Librarians are required at the Bognor Regis School (School Roll 2,002) and jointly for the Midhurst Grammar, Midhurst Intermediate and Herbert Shiner Schools, Petworth (total rolls 1,860). Each school has an established school library but the post at Midhurst is a new appointment.

Applicants should be Chartered Librarians or Graduate teachers who have obtained the appropriate professional library qualifications. School Librarians are members of the County Library staff seconded to schools and there is regular professional contact with all divisions of the County Library Service.
Salary: £1,803-£2,100 per annum.

Further details and application forms may be obtained from the COUNTY LIBRARIAN, TOWER STREET, CHICHESTER, SUSSEX. Closing date for return of application forms is 6th DECEMBER, 1972.

ROBERT GORDON'S INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, ABERDEEN

Principal Librarian: S. R. Latham, F.L.A.

Appointment of a

LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for the post of LIBRARIAN in charge of Readers' Services.

Applicants must be Chartered Librarians, and experience in an academic, special or reference library would be an advantage.

Robert Gordon's Institute of Technology is a Scottish Central Institution.

Salary will be in accordance with the scale for Librarians in Central Institutions and will be within the range of £1,881 to £2,517 per annum for Associates of the Library Association.

Applications giving the names of two referees should be returned as soon as possible to the undersigned, Schoolhill, Aberdeen AB9 1FR, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

CHARLES BIRNIE,
Secretary and Treasurer.

AGDER REGIONAL COLLEGE NORWAY

Agder Regional College has the following vacancies:

1-2 LECTURESHIPS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE AND/OR BACKGROUND

(British life and institutions)

Applicants should have qualifications appropriate to the teaching of these subjects at university level, preferably with practical experience. Both posts will involve the development and setting up of new courses for first and second year students, and those appointed should be prepared to show a special interest in this aspect of the posts. Applicants who possess the relevant qualifications will be appointed for the duration of the trial period (up to 1st August, 1974) with the possibility of permanent appointment after that date. Salary N.kr. 54 149 to 65 076 by seniority (approximately £3,493 to £4,198 p.a.).

Applications together with evidence of qualifications and references (four copies) should be sent to Agder distriktshogskole, P.O.B. 332, 4601 Kristiansand, Norway. Appointments are subject to satisfactory medical reports.

Further details are available on request from Dr. Peter Young at the same address. Closing date for applications: December 7, 1972.

MBS

MANCHESTER BUSINESS SCHOOL

LIBRARY

SENIOR LIBRARY ASSISTANT

required mainly for reader services work, from 1st January or as soon as possible thereafter. Candidates should have qualifications or experience in librarianship. Salary according to qualifications and experience on scale £1,275 to £2,100.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from:

The Administrative Officer, Manchester Business School, Booth Street West, Manchester M15 6PB.

Midwest Library Board

BENIN CITY NIGERIA

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the following vacant positions:

DEPUTY DIRECTOR
* £2,740 (fixed)

PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN
* £1,980 × 75—2,130/2,290—2,390—2,540

SENIOR LIBRARIAN
* £1,605 × 75—1,755/1,830 × 75—1,980

LIBRARIAN
* £1,070—1,120—1,230/1,380 × 75—1,605

* *Interim Salary Scale*

ENTRY QUALIFICATIONS:

1(a) Degree from an approved University *plus* Dip. Lib. (Ibadan) or equivalent professional qualifications; *and*
(b) At least five years' post-qualification experience in library organisation and administration.
2(a) Degree from an approved University *plus* Dip. Lib. (Ibadan) or equivalent professional qualifications; *and*
(b) At least four years' post-qualification experience, demonstrated professional and administrative ability.
3(a) Degree from an approved University *plus* Dip. Lib. (Ibadan) or equivalent professional qualifications; *and*
(b) At least three years' relevant professional experience.
4 Degree from an approved University *plus* Dip. Lib (Ibadan) or equivalent professional qualifications.

NOTE: Incremental credits will be granted for higher qualifications and/or special experience.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE:

Terms and Conditions of Service will be comparable to those operating in the Mid-Western Nigerian Public Service.

METHOD OF APPLICATION:

Applications must be submitted in quintuplicate and contain full details of date and place of birth, educational qualifications and experience, past and present employment including salaries and description of duties. They must be accompanied by photostat copies of educational and professional certificates, and must reach the Chairman, London Selection Panel, Nigeria High Commission (Recruitment Section) 9, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2.

LITERARY

The Arts Council of Great Britain

Grants to Writers

On the recommendation of publishers, literary editors, and other responsible members of the literary profession, grants may be awarded by the Arts Council to writers who are British subjects or Commonwealth subjects resident in Great Britain; who have normally had at least one volume published or have had a body of work published in critical magazines; and who are currently engaged in writing. The main purpose of such grants is to enable writers to buy time to complete the projects on which they are engaged.

Applications are considered on their individual merit, but as a guide it should be borne in mind that the concern of these grants is with literature as an art rather than with books in general. The scope of these grants is therefore usually confined to works of fiction, poetry, criticism and biography.

Intending sponsors should write to the Literature Director, Arts Council of Great Britain, 105 Piccadilly, London W1V 0AU, for a sponsorship form which, when completed, should be returned to the Literature Director with one copy of a published work (where applicable).

Grants to Translators

Arts Council grants are available on publishers' recommendations for the translators into English of approved works of foreign fiction, biography (including autobiography), travel, poetry, or other kinds of creative writing, which have been proposed for publication. Publishers are required to supply to the Literature Director details of the translators and of their contractual relationship with them.

105 PICCADILLY, LONDON W1V 0AU